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SUMMARY OF NEWS.

—789—

Politics of Europe.

There were Four Ships mentioned among the Arrivals in yesterday's Report; but not one of them is from England.

In the JOURNAL of yesterday, we presented our readers with a Sketch of the Parliamentary Proceedings up to the 6th of February, from a London Weekly Paper, which could not have been done had the Fuller Reports of the Daily been followed. This first gratification of public curiosity having been answered by the publication in question, we now revert to the more ample Reports of the TIMES, (unquestionably the best) and commence with that in the Commons on the State of Ireland on the 7th. The Debate on the Address, which engaged their attention of both Houses on the 5th, has been perhaps sufficiently detailed on the Report already given. On the 6th, no business was done in either House, and the Report in the TIMES merely mentions their assembling and adjournment for want of a sufficient number being present. The Proceedings of the 7th in the House of Lords were very short and of minor importance; and the first portion of the business in the Commons related to the Norfolk Petition presented by Mr. Coke, of which a Report was given yesterday. After this, came the Debate on Ireland, a very full Report of which is given in our Paper of to-day from the TIMES of Feb. 8, and we shall follow it up as our space will admit by the Debates of the succeeding days from the same Paper.

Of General News we meet with less in the Papers that have now reached us than we ever remember in Files of a similar length. When the Debates are got through, we shall republish, however, all that we deem interesting.

We understand that Letters have been received by the DUCHESS OF ARNOLD, of the 9th of February, stating that up to that period Mr. Canning's appointment as Governor General of India had certainly not taken place; and one Letter of that date says, "You may expect Mr. Canning as your new Governor in a year or two, with a Peerage." This is from a quarter likely to possess the best information.

There are an abundance of articles, not strictly political, that we shall embrace the earliest occasion of entering on. Among these is a singular account of the conversion of a Miss Loveday at a Seminary in France, to the Catholic Religion, and the Petition of her Father, with her own Reply, and her Teacher's Defence, all of which have been published. There is a severe Letter of Mr. Southey's, in reply to Lord Byron's late mention of him in the Appendix to his Two Foscari; some hard words between Mr. Hunt, Hone, Haslitt, and the Quarterly Reviewers; and other amusing matters that we shall attend to when the more important subjects are disposed of. In the mean time we give the leading articles of the TIMES of Feb. 8, 9, and 11, and afterwards proceed with the Debates:—

It will be seen from our Parliamentary report, that the measures proposed by Ministers for the subjugation, or, more correctly speaking, for the immediate repression of the Irish rebels, consist—1st, in a revived application of the Insurrection Act; and, 2d, in a temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The new measures, it is understood, may be reconsidered during the present session; and repealed, or prolonged, according to the experience had of their efficacy, between their enactment and the close of the session.

London, February 8, 1822.—The French papers of Tuesday (Feb. 5) have reached us by express: their contents would at any other time be interesting, but must now give place to the paramount importance of our own domestic affairs. The debate on the new law of the press continues. There are several members yet to speak. The censorship expired on the 3d, and the *Drapeau Blanc* commences its article on the occasion with the exclamation of "Ouf!" expressive of ease after the removal of a heavy load. The expiration of the censorship is in the same paper thus whimsically announced:—"This Committee of Censorship ceased its functions at eleven o'clock on Sunday night."

Some explanations took place last night, of passages in certain speeches upon the Address. The chief of these is important enough: Mr. Vansittart had been understood to say, that, whatever retrenchments took place, there would be no diminution of taxation. This woful declaration was attributed last night by Mr. Lushington to misapprehension. It was only meant to be said that no such diminution of taxation would take place as would bring the public creditor into jeopardy: this should seem to be reasonable enough. Our conduct should be that of every honest and honourable man who has imprudently embarrassed his circumstances—he should reduce his current expenses to the lowest possible scale, and faithfully pay his debts. He may have this importunate valet, that rapacious mistress, who would still hang upon him; he may have horses and hounds (as we have soldiers—cavalry and infantry) in which he takes delight; but he must recollect that it was his love of these that brought him to the brink of ruin—he must most remorselessly cashier or reduce them all. If, after every possible retrenchment, he still finds himself unable to satisfy his creditors, then of course as a matter of necessity, he must talk of a composition. But even to think of compounding whilst one expense remains uncurtailed, is absolute fraud. To withdraw one sixpence, ay, one farthing, from the just demands of the public creditor, while the Civil List continues at its present exorbitant pitch—raised, also, as it has been, by nearly one-third, through the increased value of money during the last three years—would be an act of dishonesty, more scandalous than ever disgraced the old Court of France, in the zenith of its despotism and profligacy.

New Irish Duke.—We have already stated that the Marquis of Waterford will be elevated to a Dukedom. His new title will be Duke of Munster.—*Freeman's Dublin Journal*.

Sir Robert Wilson will, we understand, certainly bring on his motion on Tuesday, next; and will state at length his reasons for requiring the production of the correspondence which the Minister is inclined to withhold.

Her late Majesty's will, with three codicils, was proved in the Prerogative Court, Doctors' Commons, on the 4th instant, by Stephen Lushington, LL. D., one of the exchequer; power being reserved of making like grant to Thomas Wilde, Esq., the other executor. The effects are sworn under 20,000*l*.

London, February 9, 1822.—An express from Paris, brought yesterday the Journals of Wednesday. The discussion on the new restrictive law of the press concluded on the preceding day. When the President proceeded in the usual manner to put the first paragraph of the law to the vote, a very extraordinary scene of confusion occurred; several of the members of the left side

declared their intention not to vote. We give the expressions as they occur, with the description of the French journalist:—

M. Benjamin Constant.—We protest, in the face of France, of which we are the representatives.

M. Demargay.—We will not vote.

M. Corcelles.—It is an infamous law.

M. Keratry.—We will not be accomplices in the destruction of all our liberties.

Here the greatest disorder ensued in the Chamber, arising from the extreme violence manifest by MM. Paves de Vandœuvre, Mechin, Foy, Kœcklin, Perreau de Magnois, and B. Constant. Almost all the extreme left rose with a menacing air; the right, the centre, and the left centre, remaining passive.

M. de Girardin.—Your majority has covered itself with disgrace.

Some Members of the left side addressed violent apostrophes to the Ministers.

M. Cassimir Perrier.—The Ministers do not even deign to explain.

M. de la Fayette pronounced very distinctly these words, which we are quite sure (says the French reporter) that we heard distinctly:—"We protest and we appeal from this proceeding to the energy of the French people."

M. de Grammont.—We all make the same protestation.

The disorder was now at its height; but the right side remained calm and silent. The President then put the question to the vote. All the right, the right centre, and the centre, properly so called, rose simultaneously amidst cries of *Vive la Roi*. The extreme left, more and more agitated, took no part in the proceeding. New cries of *Vive la Roi* arose as the President announced the adoption of the first paragraph.

M. de Grammont.—Proceed as you think proper; there is no longer a Chamber; vote also the rest of the law, if agreeable to you.

An amendment of M. Bonnet was next put to the vote, and was met by exclamations from the left of "We are no longer a Chamber."

M. Keratry.—The Chamber is no more: the Charter is no more!

The President having entreated them to preserve silence, the discussion continued. The principal speakers were M. Bel-lart and Cassimir Perrier, the latter of whom closed his speech with the following expressions:—"We have defended with all our power the last ramparts of public liberty, and now that all our efforts have failed before the vote of the majority, we are reduced to silence and to conduct merely passive. We have not thought proper to vote; we considered that it was our duty not to give the assistance of our co-operation to a law whose only tendency is to put power into the hands of the aristocracy." (Long shouts of "bravo" from the left.)

The Keeper of the Seal then addressed the Chamber, but was, as usual, treated with great disrespect. As an instance of their mode of treating him, it is mentioned, that the louder he speaks, (and his voice is remarkable for its sonorousness,) they call out to him from all sides—"Speak louder—we cannot hear you." M. Bonnet was ordered to be continued, and the discussion adjourned to the next day.

Lord Folkestone, last night, somewhat rudely broke through the conventional language in which Lord Wellesley has been recently spoken of by Ministers and Opposition. We suspect the attack gave no pain to either party. Lord Londonderry could not have liked to hear the romantic praises of one who had expressed no very high idea of his Lordship's ministerial powers. The Opposition, whatever, "lip-service" they might render, could not, in their hearts, like one who may be said to have deserted them. So Lord Folkestone put both sides on a right honest footing: there will probably be no more coquetting and insincerity between them on this subject.

We understand that Mr. Hamilton sets sail for Naples about the middle of next week, on board the *Euryalus*, Captain Clifford. It is unnecessary to speak of a gentleman who has already obtained so much distinction in the literary world; but we believe Mr. Hamilton to be no less competent by his political knowledge and habits of business to conduct the affairs of an embassy which may soon become very critical; than he is calculated by his taste, talents, and the pursuits of his leisure hours, to gain the esteem of the more intelligent and cultivated part of that community among which he is going to reside.—*Times*.

Earl Fitzwilliam.—We have great satisfaction in being enabled to state, that Earl Fitzwilliam has directed a permanent reduction to be made in the rents of his farms on the Wentworth estate, of from 22 to 25 and 30 per cent.—an abatement (considering the relative state of the markets in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire) equal to that which his Lordship has recently made on the Milton estates.—*Doncaster Gazette*.

London, February 11, 1822.—The Bills relating to Ireland passed the House of Commons on Friday last, and in the House of Lords were on Saturday carried through the second reading, and committed: they are to be read a third time, and probably passed, this day. Dreadful indeed must be the state of Ireland, if the remedies now adopted bear only a just proportion to it. All the inhabitants of that ill-fated island are put, not merely at the disposal of the Crown, but of the local Magistracy of the disturbed districts—that is to say, of men whose minds must necessarily be embittered, and their passions inflamed, against those upon whom they are summoned to exercise their new powers. Let it be well understood, that if the crimes and persons about to be thus visited may, abstractedly speaking, be considered as violating the great interests of the public peace and property, they are in fact the peculiar torments of their immediate neighbours. It is the property of those contiguous to them which they do substantially spoil—it is the feelings of those who lie within reach of their midnight aggressions, which the insurgents do really harass and exasperate; and yet it is from amongst these very men, whether clergy, laity, gentlemen, or middlemen, that are to be found the Magistrates appointed by this Insurrection Act to try and sentence their own personal enemies. How, then, is that law likely to be administered, which makes both Judge and Juror of him whom human nature makes a party? We are told that men will act with fairness, who act under the weight of personal responsibility. But what Minister or Magistrate ever in practice becomes responsible for oppressions, however enormous, perpetrated at a time of public confusion, in the name of loyalty or of the public safety? What satisfaction was given to any man who complained of ill treatment during the great Irish rebellion, or during the late suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act here?

We have done for the present with these dreadful provisions of the Legislature: admitting their necessity, we may be suffered to deplore it; and to hope that if they are conceived in rigour, they may at least, so far as depends on the Government itself, be temperately and mercifully executed.

But how defective is the proposition of punishment alone; and how inconsistent with the Minister's own declaration! This disorder, says Lord Londonderry, originates in distress—by no means in a spirit of political change or disaffection. Now if the object of the insurgents were to destroy the state, we can imagine that measures of repression or chastisement would be all that the immediate duty of a Minister might require. But if distress be the admitted cause of the malady, why does not some distinct recommendation of relief form part of the prospective cure? It is monstrous that a public Minister should discharge no duty but that of enforcing obedience; while he abandons to any person who may charitably undertake it the higher duty of protection to the King's unhappy subjects—protection from the most terrible calamities—even those of nakedness and famine. It will be a grievous disappointment to the real friends of Ireland, if they do not hear that some attempts are in contemplation, by the authors of the Insurrection Act, and its ominous companion,

to palliate, if not to remove, their acknowledged causes. This will besides afford the only chance of shortening the duration of arbitrary measures, and of superseding a system, worse, in one respect, because more disguised, than that of pure military government.

We seize this opportunity of observing upon a very common assertion of Ministers and their friends. They say that "they have no idea that any great good, that any sensible alleviation of public distress, can be produced by retrenchment and the diminution of taxes." To this we reply, "Why, Gentlemen, it wholly depends upon yourselves whether the retrenchment is to be useful or not; you can certainly, if you please, fulfil your own predictions, and give us such a retrenchment as will do us no sensible good; but you can also, if you like, give us a retrenchment from which great and sensible benefit will be felt. It is *utrum horum*" with you. We must submit every thing to you except our own sense and reason: we know very well what you can do, and fear very much what you will do."

There is another assertion also upon which we beg leave to remark. It is that "we cannot reduce our military establishment to the state in which it was at the commencement of the last war, because we have now more colonies." To this, also, we beg leave to reply—first, "that the increase of our army is totally disproportionate to the increase of colonies now become *nostræ ditionis*. But this is not all. The colonies of other nations support themselves without burdening the mother country, and why should not ours? For example, the Cape of Good Hope never cost the Dutch a guilder; but no sooner are we curst with the possession of it, than we send over a Governor with a salary of ten thousand pounds a year. One's blood boils at the recital of such bare-faced profligacy. And this Governor, be it remarked, has not this enormous salary because he can govern the Cape better than any other man, but because his friends command a certain number of votes in Parliament; so that we are both plundered in our pockets and betrayed in our councils by the disgraceful appointment in question." In the same manner we should take the liberty of asking, "how much the seven Ionian Islands cost France while she had them?" We believe may answer, "not a franc; whilst we purchase hatred and curses there at an annual expense of we know not how many thousand pounds. Certainly, Gentlemen, if this is the manner in which you choose to fix our colonial establishments, they must, as you say, tend to the impoverishment of the people; but no other nation could or would retain colonies on such conditions."—*Times*.

Press in France.—Those persons in this country who were deluded by the professions of the Bridge-street Crew, in the beginning of their career, and who were even proof against the lamentable exhibitions compounded of malignity and folly, which they have ever since given us, must, we should think, have their eyes at length opened by the new project against the Press in France; which has been so warmly espoused by their organ. Here they have a practical illustration of the designs of this Inquisitorial Crew.

It is some consolation, however, to think, that with the solitary exception of the organ of the Bridge-street Association (though we may, perhaps except also his *protege*, JOHN BULL, who, too, has a great horror of a *licentious Press*), the Journalists of this country have all spoken of this abominable project in terms of the most marked condemnation. The *Courier* even, who, God knows, cannot be accused of any particular affection for the liberty of the Press, who takes care to put us in mind of his having said, that, "No Minister, who does not intend to let loose faction in its most delirious character, will dare to propose the unrestrained liberty of the Press in France at this moment;" and who was as perfectly reconciled to the continuance of a Censorship in France, as he was reconciled to its introduction here about the time when we were favoured with the Six Acts—even THE *Courier* is up in arms against this odious measure.

"There is wide difference (he says) between restraint and extinction, and we do say, that the proposed law, in its practical

operation, must have the latter effect. For let it be observed, that the express words of the third article enact, that in any case in which the *spirit and tendency* of a Journal is injurious to public peace, &c. the Royal Courts may suspend, or even suppress that Journal. Should there, consequently, exist a disposition in any quarter to get rid of any obnoxious Journal, where will be the difficulty of making out the requisite "spirit and tendency?" It is not for specific acts, or particular articles, that this heavy punishment would be incurred; but the general spirit and tendency of the sentiments expressed. And to whose hands is this undefined and sweeping power entrusted? To the Judges of the Royal Courts, without the intervention of a Jury. We do not mean to insinuate that these Judges are undeserving of the praises bestowed upon them by Mr. Pymont, for their integrity and impartiality; but, inasmuch as they are eligible to higher judicial functions, inasmuch as they may be promoted to offices of greater dignity and emolument, they are not beyond the reach of suspicion, and therefore should not be brought into contact with it. It is true the parties accused may be heard in their own defence; but their defence must be urged before men who have not merely to administer the law, but to fit the offence to the law, and who are liable to have their judgments swayed by previous prejudices and future interest. It is also provided that the pleadings shall be public; but even this protection is weakened by the condition, that publicity shall be granted only when the Court does not consider it dangerous to order and morality."

Why in this country is the decision of all cases of this nature entrusted to a Jury? Not surely on account of any superiority of talent or power of judging possessed by Jurors. So far from this being the case, it is obvious that the superiority, in most cases must be on the side of the Judge. It is because honesty and impartiality are required, and if Juries are chosen according to the spirit of the institution, we have an incomparably greater chance of finding them honest than we can of finding Judges honest. The whole power and influence of the Crown brought incessantly to bear against the conscience of the Judge is a trial too arduous for human nature to bear up against; the Juror is not exposed to the trial.

But then the Keeper of the Seals tells us, not that the Judges of the *Cour Royale* are most respectable men, but that "a number of such Judges, in solemn sitting, will assure to the accused all the guarantees he can equitably require." So far from considering the number of Judges an additional guarantee, we would, if the case were our own, prefer being subject to the fiat of a single Judge. It was shrewdly observed by the acutest writer on Legislation that this or any other country has yet produced, we mean Mr. Bentham, in his admirable work on Judicial Administration, that—

"The qualities that are to be wished for on the part of a Judge, are *probity, exertion, and intelligence*;—that probity on the part of a Judge, is to every practical purpose, to be considered as exactly proportioned to the strictness of his dependence on public opinion, meaning the general tenor of it. That a single Judge finds nobody on whom he can shift off the odium of an unjust decree—nobody to share with him the weight of that odium—none to support him under the apprehension of it, by the encouragement of their countenance. He finds nobody to help him, as numbers help one another, to raise a schism in the public; and draw after them the suffrages of the unreflecting part of it, in spite of evidence, by the mere force of prejudice—that in Great Britain this reasoning has received the fullest confirmation imaginable from experience; that the probity of the Courts of Justice there runs uniformly, in a ratio compounded of the direct proportion of the publicity of the Judges, and the inverse proportion of their numbers."

The Court of Session in Scotland, particularly under its constitution some years back, will sufficiently illustrate these positions.

But the Judges of the *Cour Royale* are, besides, particularly open to Court influence. The ordinary Judge may be appointed

President (here Crown favours operates)—the President may be promoted the head of the Court of Cassation (favour again)—the head of the Court of Cassation may be appointed Chancellor, or Keeper of the Seals (still favour.) The Court itself, consisting of about 40 Judges, is divided into different sections, by which different duties are discharged, and the selection for the more or less agreeable duty rests with the President. Other arrangements are spoken of, on which we will not now enter.

This, then, is the honourable and independent tribunal to which the French and English Ultras would give the power, not merely of punishing offences committed by the Press, without the intervention of a Jury, but the power of annihilating, at pleasure, all property vested in newspapers! We confine ourselves now merely to this worse than Algerine provision, without alluding to the power of reviving the Censorship also proposed to be given to Ministers.

This is worse than the Star Chamber system to which an indignant nation put an end. If discretionary power of this nature can be entrusted to any Court, the Star Chamber had surely as good claims to it as the *Cour Royale*. The composition of this Court was even warmly eulogized by the great Lord Bacon.

"This Court (he says) is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of Courts of ordinary justice (besides the High Court of Parliament), in which distribution the King's Bench holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the Common Pleas, Pleas Civil, the Exchequer Pleas concerning the King's revenue, and the Chancery the Pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless, always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the King's Council, in cases that might, in example or consequence, concern the state of the Commonwealth; which, if they were criminal, the Council used to sit in the Chamber, called the Star Chamber: if Civil, in the White Chamber, or Whitehall. And as the Chancery had the Pretorian power for equity; so the Star Chamber had the Censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This Court of Star Chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons—Counsellors, Peers, Prelates and Chief Judges."

Knowing as we do the warmth with which Milton inveighs against this Star Chamber, we were not a little amused to see this great man gravely produced by the Ultra as an authority in favour of this new and more odious Star Chamber. Milton, who contended for the utmost latitude of publication, who held that "all opinions, yea errors, are of main service and assistance towards the speedy attainment of what is truest," and who exclaimed—

"Since, therefore, the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason?"

But Milton would have sharper justice done on the malefactors of the Press! What? is there no difference between the punishment of the authors, printer, and publishers of such a licentious publication as *JOHN BULL*, and committing to the Government through the instrumentality of a Court, the most despotic power over the periodical Press?—*Morning Chronicle*.

Supplies to the Turks.—Extract of a letter from Deal, 7th January:—I understand the *CORNET* brig, Captain Beales, which left this yesterday, for Smyrna, is loaded with ammunition for the Turks, and that she carries 30,000 shot, and a variety of articles of the first necessity. I cannot but hope that the Greek cruisers may fall in with this brig, and that the British flag will not be allowed to cover these war supplies to the Turks against our Christian brethren in Greece.—*Times*.

Affair at Washington.—The NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER acknowledges that there has been a current report for some days past, of an unpleasant conversation having taken place between the French and British Ministers some time in the last week, after leaving the table of the President; but it is but just to add, that latter reports state, that whatever unpleasant feelings may have existed between the parties, have been entirely removed by subsequent explanation.

Of the circumstance alluded to, the following explanation appears in *KELF'S PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE*:—

"The etiquette of the Court table at Washington is established by usage, and enjoins that the oldest resident Foreign Minister should have precedence to place and attention. The French Minister had been here, representing his nation, prior to Mr. Canning's appointment and residence near the Court of Washington; but in the meantime the former had occasion to return home, leaving merely a Charge des Affaires to represent him. M. Neuville returning to his situation, it would seem, claimed the usual precedence, and accordingly took the appropriate seat at the President's table. It is improperly stated in a Baltimore paper that the dispute originated at the table. This would indeed be a species of the highest indecorum; but the fact is, that when the party was breaking up, and in the lobby of the President's house, Mr. Canning in a jocular manner, told the French Minister that he had 'out-generalled' him, but that he should not do it again. M. Neuville conceiving it an unfair imputation, became very violent, and some harsh expressions were exchanged, and the French Minister at length touched the handle of his sword, upon which indication of personal hostility, Mr. Poltice, the Russian Minister, interferred, and the altercation was closed, for the time."

Silk Trade.—One of the most considerable commercial houses at Vienna (in the silk trade), which has been established nearly sixty years, suspended payment on the 5th of January.

Ransom.—Mr. Theodore Homer, the Greek merchant, at Marseilles, has been obliged to pay a ransom of 200,000 francs (8,000*l.* sterling) for his father, who was carried off from Smyrna by the Turks.

Exeter.—A few days since a respectable tradesman of this city, applied to a Clergyman in the neighbourhood of Exeter for a debt of 50*l.* the Reverend Gentleman, expecting the demand, had previously assembled his tenants, who owed him 800*l.* and offered to accept 400*l.* from them, on a day specified, and forgive them the remaining half. The day arrived—not one of the tenants appeared—and the tradesman's bill remains unsatisfied. We fear occurrences of this nature are too general; and such is the reciprocity of interest between agricultural and domestic commerce, that the distress of the one must necessarily react on the other.—*Woolmer's Exeter Gazette*.

Cowes, Jan. 21.—A Captain and 42 men were sent off from here this morning, belonging to the 56th, 67th, and 82d Regiments, on their way to Chatham, to be embarked for the East Indies, and 29 men, of different Regiments, were landed and sent to Albany barracks.

National Monument.—A gentleman of Edinburgh, being pressed the other day to subscribe to the national monument to be erected in that city, to commemorate the events of the late war, replied, "I'll do nae sic thing—the *National Debt*, i' my opinion, is moniment enough."

Pedestrian.—On Monday (Jan. 28) the celebrated pedestrian Mr. J. Wright, undertook, for a small wager, to walk 40 miles, to and fro, betwixt Beverly and Bishopburton, within nine hours, which he performed in grand style, one minute and a half within the time! and, wonderful to say, so little was he fatigued with his Herculean task, that he afterwards, the same evening, danced a hornpipe, in the presence of a numerous company of spectators, at the Lord Nelson public-house, in Beverly, and proposed to walk 60 miles in twelve hours the next day!—*Hull Advertiser*.

PARLIAMENTARY.

—793—

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1822.

DEBATE ON IRELAND.

Copies of despatches from Marquis Wellesley to the Home Department were laid upon the table.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY rose, in pursuance of notice, to call the attention of the house to that part of his Majesty's speech which related to the internal state of Ireland. He trusted the house would think him sincere when he said that he never had been called upon to perform any duty more painful to him, whether he contemplated it in his public or in his private character. From experience of the manner in which Ireland had conducted herself of late years it was certainly to have been hoped, either that tranquillity would be preserved, or if it were disturbed, that it might have been restored without the melancholy contemplation that it was necessary to repress outrage by the strong arm of power—without compelling obedience to those laws to which all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were bound to submit. It was a cause of additional distress to him, that it had fallen to his lot to rise in his place to bring forward this subject: it more properly belonged to right hon. friends who, from their offices, were particularly responsible for the state of Ireland. He could not give a more pregnant or convincing proof of the urgency attaching to the business, than to state that he had felt it his duty, not merely at the instance of administration on this side of the water, but at the express solicitation of the individual now charged with the government of Ireland, not to delay its introduction until his right honourable friends, the Secretary for Ireland, and the Secretary for the Home Department, were able to assist in the deliberations of the House. He therefore threw himself on the indulgence of the House while he performed a task distressing to himself, and which would come with greater weight and authority from those who were more immediately connected with the interior of Ireland. (hear.) He would now endeavour to state, as shortly as possible, the nature of his propositions, and the grounds upon which he rested them. If he succeeded in conveying to the house, briefly, his sense of what the case demanded, on every principle of public policy and public safety, on every principle of public order and mercy to the unfortunate and deluded beings engaged in this rebellious insurrection, it would be the more grateful to his feelings; because nothing could be so painful as to dwell upon so melancholy a subject. He should best execute his purpose by first stating the nature of the measures he should suggest; in the next place the period for which he proposed they should continue; and thirdly, he should endeavour to establish the grounds on which those measures appeared to be of exigent necessity to the Government of which he was a member. Upon the best view ministers had been able to take of the whole question, and at the immediate instance of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his advisers, they had determined to propose, that Parliament ought to proceed with the least possible delay, to furnish the executive authorities in Ireland with additional powers for the restoration of the public peace. They had therefore resolved to recommend to the house the re-enactment of the Insurrection Bill, as well as a former law, commonly known by the title of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, under which persons suspected of being dangerous might be apprehended and secured. Before he proceeded to argue how far the case was of a description to induce Parliament to comply with this application, he wished to apprise them of the duration it was intended to give these re-enactments. He anxiously hoped that it might not be found necessary to renew either of these bills beyond the period which the wisdom of parliament might assign to them, more especially that by which the Habeas Corpus Act was to be suspended. He was prepared to admit, that of all painful measures this last was the most painful, and nothing but the strongest impression of its absolute necessity could induce him to propose it; he could not, without the utmost reluctance, deny to any class of his Majesty's subjects the enjoyment of that important writ, which had long and fitly been considered one of the best and dearest birth-rights of Englishmen. He believed that the present was the first occasion on which it had ever been proposed to revive the Insurrection Act for a time so limited. Whenever parliament had adopted his precautionary measure, to be applied locally, and on the statement of an adequate emergency, no shorter period for its duration than three years had yet been fixed. As, however, he trusted to be able to persuade the house to pass it now with the least possible delay, he should be sorry to name any time for its continuance beyond what the undeniable necessity of the case fully warranted. In a subsequent part of the Session, it would be open to the house to consider whether a renewal of the bill might or might not be expedient. Disturbances existed in the bosom of the metropolis, and then it was that the house had formerly, at one sitting, passed, not only the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, but a measure known by the title of the Martial Law Bill, which in some respects was infinitely more strong than the Insurrection Act. The papers just laid upon the table presented nothing short of absolute rebellion, pre-

vailing in a considerable portion of the south and south-west of Ireland. Rebellion was in the field; it was characterised by every mark belonging to insurrection; resistance to the law, destruction of the constituted authorities, and every component principle of rebellion, demanded that Parliament should furnish the executive Government with the instant means of suppression. The judgment and discretion of his Majesty's lieutenant in Ireland must carry weight in every quarter of the house, and he was most decidedly of opinion that such extraordinary powers could not be too soon communicated. He (Lord Londonderry) called for them, both on the responsibility of the Government here, and on the responsibility of the noble Marquis immediately charged with the administration of the affairs of Ireland. He (Lord Londonderry) claimed of the house that it would not consider that these laws were called for merely on the strength of the evidence contained in the papers upon the table. He apprehended that honourable gentlemen had always held it consistent with their duty to place a fair degree of confidence in ministers in cases of public exigency: even before a secret committee the disclosure of all the particulars known to the cabinet had sometimes not been thought expedient; and the cases were not few where Parliament had taken the exigency on the declaration of the responsible advisers of the Crown. He had already stated that the papers contained such details as proved the clear, undoubted, but melancholy fact, that actual rebellion was at this moment in the field in the south and south-west of Ireland. He could conceive nothing more calculated to encourage the spirit of disaffection, and to appeal and dismay the loyal subject, than for Parliament to hesitate now in strengthening the hands of Government, as it had done in the time of the predecessor of Lord Wellesley, when Ireland was exposed to peril, not of a more serious nature than at the present moment. (hear, hear.) It afforded him (Lord Londonderry) considerable satisfaction to be enabled to state that the existing rebellion in Ireland was not characterised by any of those wild and theoretical principles of government which at this moment might be said to pervade the world. (hear, hear, from the Opposition benches.) The spirit in which that remark was received certainly did not show that the measures now before the house were unnecessary. There was a clear distinction between a rebellion of ignorance and of knowledge. Here pressing need and distress were the source of the calamity, and if politics had been involved in the movements of the distractors of the public tranquillity, it was certain that such proceedings could not end in an extension of liberty. But because political motives were not now attributable to the rebels, was certainly no reason why the rebellion should not be met by the strong arm of the law. If in the present insurrection those symptoms which existed on other occasions were not to be traced—if in this instance men of education did not take part with the disaffected, and thereby accomplish more permanent injury, it did not follow that the consequences were not to be dreaded, and if possible avoided. The rebellion now carried on was not indeed directed against any particular constitution or form of government under which we lived, but it was directed against every principle of government—against every tie by which mankind was united—against the first principles of social order. The object was, by physical power to overthrow and destroy all the constituted authorities of the country; and it called in aid the most desperate crimes by which our nature could be degraded—murder and assassination. (hear, hear.) He was happy nevertheless, to be able to say, that as political feeling was not mixed up with the existing disturbances, so religious animosities had no connexion with them. Let not the house, however, be sure that if it delayed to act with vigour and effect against these infatuated traitors, the rebellion might not acquire both a religious and a political character. (hear, hear.) Holding as highly as any man the propriety of conciliation in general, he (Lord Londonderry) begged to declare that, to connect it with the bills now under consideration, in his view would be a course most fatal to the public interest. (hear.) He most earnestly deprecated the mixture of any such matters; this was in no respect the fit opportunity for the right hon. bart. to enter into the consideration of any case of grievance: this was not the time for discussing why Ireland was more susceptible of commotion than Scotland, or any other portion of the empire, or why a better system of legislation might not be pursued with regard to the Catholics. The object of it now was to put down all law, and to dispose of all property; for this rebellion went to nothing short of that point; every thing was to be regulated according to the unknown system of some invisible government: by that it was to be decided how gentlemen were to let their lands, or whether they should let them at all. This, in short, was a rebellion of murder and plunder; and if the house seconded the motion of the right hon. bart. it would sow more deeply than ever the seed of perpetual disturbance. (hear.) He therefore most solemnly protested against mixing up matters of grievance with the question of the maintenance of the law: it was only in times of tranquillity that the house could legislate with wisdom and effect upon such subjects. He felt much confidence that the right honourable baronet would give due weight to these considerations, and assist him in pursuing a course which all interested in the welfare of Ireland must, he thought, be disposed to follow—a course which the individual who had not long since so ably advocated the claims of the Roman Catholics would be anxious to second, which had been prudently and temperately adopted on a former

occasion. It was not when the country was in a state of disturbance and confusion, the year before last, that the house had heard a desire from any quarter that the claims of the Catholics should be taken into consideration; all parties then studiously abstained from their introduction, and it was not until tranquillity had been perfectly restored in this country (Ireland in the interval remaining undisturbed), that the question, in which they were so deeply interested, was brought under the notice of Parliament. (hear.) He trusted that the heads and leaders of the Catholic body in Ireland would not wish their disabilities to be mixed up with this great and paramount object of enforcing the law, and of protecting the lives of the King's loyal subjects. No course could be more fatal to Ireland or to the expectations of the Roman Catholics, than that which on the former night the right hon. baronet seemed disposed to recommend. He trusted that the house would look at this question as one which was extremely painful to the Executive Government, on whom the duty of bringing it forward necessarily devolved. He hoped hon. gentlemen would judge, from the course pursued by Government for many years towards the sister country, how anxious those at the head of the national affairs were to secure its peace and tranquillity; how desirous they felt that the cloud which at present overhung and darkened its prosperity should speedily pass away. It was true that many pledges had been given to the people of Ireland of the anxious desire entertained by Government that they should enjoy all the blessings of the law and constitution. The very delay which had taken place in bringing this subject under the consideration of Parliament was, in itself, a proof of the moderate and conciliatory spirit which animated the breast of the Executive Government. They were most anxious before, they demanded extraordinary powers from Parliament, that they should be possessed of a perfect knowledge of the state of Ireland; and they were also desirous of learning what effect was likely to be produced by the application, in the South of Ireland, of certain remedies which had been found effectual in the West. The county of Galway had manifested great symptoms of insubordination—a fact which, he believed, an honourable friend opposite, to whose exertions the preservation of the peace in an adjacent county was chiefly to be attributed, could fully substantiate; the country of Galway had been, in fact, most seriously and dangerously disturbed, but it was restored to tranquillity by a due exercise of the powers of the law, aided by a large military force. In the same way a special commission was sent into the county of Limerick, and additional troops were also marched there, but the effect was not the same. These measures proved to be almost wholly inefficient, and therefore it was, that extraordinary powers were now called for. He was quite sure that the noble lord at the head of the Government of Ireland, however anxious he must be to administer the law, as it now stood, equally to all—however desirous he must be, like his predecessor, to make the people of Ireland duly feel and appreciate the benignant sway of the House of Hanover, under which they lived, must, at the same time, be convinced that the first duty which he owed to that country was, to cause the law to be respected, and to show that legal enactments were capable of securing both persons and property. He should therefore have been trifling with the true principles of moderation and of justice if he did not come to that house, when the necessity was so evident to call for those extraordinary powers which were resorted to on former occasions as the only remedies against evils similar to those which now existed; and which, indeed, existed in an alarming and enlarged degree in the neighbouring country. He was under the painful necessity of stating to the house that since the receipt of the despatches which had been laid on the table, and printed for the use of members, fresh accounts had been transmitted from the Irish Government, which showed that the mischief was considerably aggravated both in nature and degree. Some transactions had occurred, so horrible in themselves, and so painfully distressing to the feelings of those who, like him, were intimately connected with Ireland, that he could not enter into a detail of the particulars. The practice of attacking houses had increased to an alarming degree, and, in some instances, was accompanied by circumstances of extreme barbarity. In one case, a house in which there were 16 policemen, was surrounded by a body of 2,000 insurgents, who, not being able to effect their object by the use of fire arms, had recourse to fire, in order to compel the legal force to surrender. In that affray those 16 individuals, who were employed to preserve the peace, were either killed on the spot, or dangerously wounded. The officer who commanded the garrison of Cork stated that he had seen large bodies of men in the mountains in the neighbourhood of that city; and though troops were sent into the western district, and even marched into the mountains they had not been able to drive those deluded people from their fastnesses. He had therefore every reason to believe that, unless the executive government were armed with great and general powers, such as the Insurrection Act and the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act would confer, the present disturbances could not be effectually put down. The Insurrection Act was peculiarly applicable to the existing evil. All the operations of these misguided men were carried on by night. The visiting of houses, the forcing open dwellings, in most cases to obtain arms, but in many to possess themselves of other property, were effected in the night time. Large parties of insurgents on horseback travelled from one distant part of a county to another by night, for the purpose of more secretly effecting their dangerous and illegal designs. He trusted that the house

would not call on him, to state all the reasons which had induced the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to wish for the adoption of the Insurrection Act. What he had stated was, he thought, quite sufficient for his purpose. In his opinion, the most advantageous view which could be taken of this rebellion was, that it was wholly confined to the ignorant classes of the people—to those who were without property, without personal influence, without education—with those, in short, who were far removed from the higher orders of society. (hear.) None of the latter were in any degree connected with it, and he was happy to say that the sincerity of those ardent manifestations of loyal and constitutional feeling which he had recently witnessed in Ireland, manifestations which were so dear to every generous and humane heart, was not to be doubted, on account of the disturbances which unhappily prevailed in different districts. The influence of time, the extension of civilization, and the encouragement of education, would render triumphant that conciliatory feeling, which the imprudence of individuals, who endeavoured to push the principle too far, and too suddenly, had shaken, but had not destroyed. (hear.) It was perfectly compatible with the present state of affairs in Ireland, extraordinary as it might seem, that that country was now in a better situation than at any former period; although a portion of its population was arrayed against the legal authorities. Those who were in this state of insubordination were put in motion, partly by distress, partly by evil habits, and partly by that system of cabal and faction which was always resorted to for the purpose of pressing and effecting particular objects, which nothing but time could remove. Still, lest such disturbances might take the more dangerous tint of a political and religious rebellion, (as, if not noticed in time, they might), Parliament was called on to interpose its authority. The mischief was, at present, confined to the lower orders; but it was not, therefore, to be treated lightly; because, though the crimes of those deluded men, arising from the causes he had enumerated, formed a happy contrast to a rebellion originating in religious or political causes, still, if such an insurrection were allowed to rage in Ireland for any considerable period, individuals connected with a better class of the community might engage in those criminal excesses, and give to those acts of insubordination a very different colouring, which would not be the case if Government adopted a steady and resolute course of proceeding. He hoped, therefore, that he did not request anything beyond what the necessity of the case required, when he called on the house to enable him to carry those measures into effect with the least possible delay. It was his duty to propose the renewal of the Insurrection Act, for a period considerably less than that to which it had been usually extended. When he called on the house to agree to the measures which the state of Ireland rendered necessary with the least possible delay, it would be observed, that he did not demand of them to place those laws out of the reach of their consideration in the present session. They would have an immediate opportunity of judging of their operation in restoring order; and at no distant day, they would hear the sentiments of his right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, than whom no man possessed a more extensive knowledge of the national situation of Ireland, of the probable effect of those measures, as well as the opinion of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who had arrived in town this day. But after the representations which had been made to Government, from both sides of the water, as to the necessity of adopting some efficient and vigorous measure, to check the farther growth of the existing evil, it was not deemed advisable to postpone the introduction of the bills to which he had adverted, until the assistance of those gentlemen could be obtained. His lordship concluded with moving "for leave to bring in a bill to suppress insurrection and prevent the disturbance of the public peace in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland."

Sir J. NEWPORT hoped the house would be satisfied, after the appeal which had been so pointedly made to him by the noble lord, after having been described by the noble lord as entertaining sentiments which he did not entertain, that it was absolutely necessary for him to make a few observations. (hear, hear, hear.) If the noble lord, in his high situation, upheld as he was by that powerful train of supporters who usually followed him, felt it necessary to throw himself on the indulgence of the house for a patient hearing, how much more reason had he to entreat their indulgence, whilst he stated, as briefly as he could, his opinion on this vital question. However painful might be the feelings which the noble lord stated as actuating him on this occasion, he could assure the house that they were met by feelings on his part which were not less painful, because he was afraid that he should be compelled to differ on this occasion from individuals whom he highly respected and esteemed. But after a complete conviction on this subject—after considering it for 20 years, during which he had sat in that house—after contemplating it for a much longer period while residing in Ireland—he felt himself imperatively bound to state his opinion. (hear.) The noble lord had called the attention of the house to the hands in which the executive Government of Ireland was at present placed. In reference to that point, he would take leave to say, that there was no man in that house, not even the noble lord himself, who more highly respected the individual now at the head of the Irish Government than he did; or who was a greater admirer of his energy, his political talent, his public spirit, or his exalted

humanity. Long as his public duties had detained that noble lord from his native country, and however peculiar circumstances might induce him to call for measures of coercion, still he (Sir J. Newport) felt the most perfect conviction, that he bore in his bosom a heart devoted to the interests of that country. (hear.) If the house were now obliged to adopt a remedy of the kind proposed by his Majesty's Government, he (Sir J. Newport) could conscientiously say, that the blame did not rest with him; and, for the purpose of showing that he was not censurable and that the error lay entirely with those who administered the affairs of the country, he would refer gentlemen to the journals of the house, where they would find that, on the 19th of June, 1817, a motion was made for an inquiry into the state of Ireland, which motion was negatived.

THE CLERK here read the motion, which was, "That an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, praying that his Royal Highness would graciously please to direct such a deliberate and accurate inquiry, during the prorogation of Parliament, into the state and condition of the people of Ireland, as would develop the nature and point out the causes of the evils which affected that part of the united kingdom, and devise such efficacious and salutary remedies as appeared most adequate to accomplish that object; and, in the emphatic words of the Act of Union, 'promote the prosperity and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire.'"

Sir JOHN NEWPORT continued.—Such was the motion made in June, 1817, and that motion was negatived. It was worthy of remark, that one of the tellers who negatived that motion was now Secretary of State for the Home Department. (hear.) Those who supported that motion called for nothing but that a patient and deliberate inquiry should be made into the condition of the people of Ireland during the recess, so as to enable the house in the next session to probe to the bottom the evil under which that country suffered, and to apply some adequate remedy. That motion, fair and moderate as it was, was negatived. (hear.) Was he, then, under those circumstances, greatly to blame, if he hesitated to give his confidence to an administration which had acted in this manner? (hear.) Would he be justified in blindly placing his reliance on the wisdom or justice of those who had refused to examine the extent and cause of the misfortunes which afflicted Ireland, when they came and told the house (he was sorry to say, with too much truth) that the evils required coercive measures to put them down? (hear, hear.) No man knew better than he did, that strong measures were necessary. But the difference between the noble lord and himself was, as to the nature and extent of those measures. The noble lord had said, "Let us put down the rebellion." So also, he said; but he could not agree to the adoption of most oppressive measures, which bore the deceitful semblance of constitutional acts. If necessary, let recourse be had to martial law. He would prefer even that to the measures proposed by the noble lord, because it was a plain and clear proceeding, and did not pretend to uphold the constitution, which, in fact, it superseded for a time. The noble lord said much about the efficacy of the Insurrection Act, but he had not uttered a word relative to the laws which at present existed in Ireland, and were applicable to the circumstances of the times. He wished the noble lord would give English members some information relative to the acts which were to be found in the Irish statute-book, the White Boy Act, for instance. He would venture to affirm, that there were not five members of that house who knew the nature of that act. The noble lord had alluded strongly to the circumstances of the peasantry going about at night. Now, the White Boy Act made that penal. Not merely was the going about at night in bodies, but individually, a penal offence under that act, (hear, hear). He was sensible that, by pursuing the path he was now taking, he should draw down on himself the resentment of those whom he most loved and esteemed. He knew that he differed—unfortunately differed—from a great body of his countrymen, but while he remained in that house, however painful the duty which it might fall to his lot to discharge, that duty he would fearlessly perform, (hear). He could not bend his mind to place confidence, he would not say in the noble lord, for he had no right to expect his confidence, he had never tendered his confidence to him; but in some of those whom he knew, and who formed component parts of his administration. The noble lord had stated, that these coercive measures were demanded by the executive Government of Ireland. But there was not a single word in the papers that were laid on their table which bore out this statement. On the contrary, there was one instance, in which a police magistrate, who expressed a wish for the Insurrection Act, complied it with the alternative of employing more troops, (hear). The noble lord had thrown out an insinuation which he was very sorry to hear: he insinuated to the house, that, if these coercive measures were not resorted to, the insurrection, in different parts of the country, would, perhaps, assume a political or religious character. This observation filled him with very great concern, because, from what he had himself seen, he did not think the disturbances manifested any symptoms of a political or religious association. The best proof that no such danger existed was to be found in this fact—that, at no period in the history of Ireland, had the Roman Catholic clergy

and laity encountered danger with greater firmness, or signified themselves by the exhibition of greater spirit, than they had recently done, in endeavouring to put down those disturbances, at the hazard of their lives, single and unaided. (hear.) The noble lord said, that he (Sir J. Newport) had stated on a former evening, that he would oppose all measures of severity, unless measures of conciliation were also devised. No man was more devoted to the preservation of order and tranquillity than he was; and the noble lord mistook him very much, if he supposed, that, under any circumstances whatsoever, he could lend his aid to anything that savoured of a breach of the public peace. The noble lord might say, that the safety of the state required the Executive Government to be armed with those extraordinary powers. He, on the other hand, who conceived those powers to be too extensive, would say, "Let the Government have what is necessary, and no more." If more troops were required; let them have more. If larger powers were necessary, let their powers be extended. Let a commission be appointed, attended by a proper number of troops, to sit from hour to hour, and day to day, until the insurrection was put down. But let them not place the execution of those laws in their hands. Though the house was assembled to discuss the propriety of passing an insurrection bill, gentlemen were not, perhaps, acquainted with the nature of such a measure. They ought, when they were required to place a penal law on the statute-book, to be thoroughly conversant with its provisions. In the last year but one, a renewal of this penal measure was called for, under circumstances of as open and violent insubordination as were ever stated to exist. The hon. member for Galway described the situation of the country, and contended that the insurrection Act ought to be renewed. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, however, held a different opinion, and declared that the disturbances could be put down without the aid of that coercive measure. The house agreed with him, and the consequence was, that this formidable rebellion was crushed without the assistance of the Insurrection Act. What was the feeling of the Judges on this subject? Had not one of them, at Limerick, stated that the laws in existence were sufficient to put down the malcontents? (hear.) Now what were the provisions of the Insurrection Act? In the first place, any person being out after sunset, and before sunrise, under any pretext, whatever might be the cause of his being absent from home during that period, was liable, under the Insurrection Act, to transportation—not, he it remembered, by the sentence or award of a jury (hear), but under the uncontrolled direction of the magistrates. (hear.)

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said, across the table, that it had been suspended during the rebellion.

Sir J. NEWPORT.—Did the noble lord mean to say that the disturbances mentioned in these papers were similar to those which distinguished the period of the rebellion? The noble lord, at the head of the Irish Government did not state a single circumstance that warranted such an inference. (hear, hear, hear.) The noble lord had deprecated any renewal of the Catholic question during the present session; so, at least, he understood him. But, however convenient it might be to him or to his Majesty's Cabinet, to postpone the consideration of that subject, he (Sir J. Newport) believed that it would not be found either practicable or fitting to put it off. (hear, hear.) As he had been one of that party—a party which he never would disclaim, because their efforts were directed to the support of the constitution of this country—who had, in common with himself, stated, over and over again, that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland would never be effectually secured until an equality of political rights was extended to the whole community, he would not compromise his opinions and feelings by adopting the sentiment of those who told them, that because Ireland was in a state approaching to rebellion, they ought therefore not to entertain a question, the success of which would greatly benefit, and consequently assist in tranquillizing that unfortunate country. He had now stated to the house the reasons which induced him to oppose the noble lord's proposition. He hoped he had done so without endeavouring to inflame any bad passion. He had divested himself, as far as he could, of every impression that might lead him to revive the recollection of unpleasant transactions, and he entreated the house to bear in mind, above all things, that he was most anxious to avoid the supposition of giving any shadow of countenance to those deluded people who were filling Ireland with disturbance. Neither he, nor any man who acted with him, was more disposed to give those misguided individuals countenance than the noble lord himself was.

Mr. C. HUTCHINSON agreed entirely in the necessity of giving sufficient powers to the magistrates to enable them to put down the system of outrage which the noble lord had described, and which, if not promptly met and resisted, would undoubtedly increase; but he did not think that the measures proposed by his Majesty's Government would have the effect of restoring tranquillity. If the noble lord thought that the acts he proposed would restore tranquillity to Ireland, he greatly deceived himself. If he were to get 500 acts, as bad and as disgraceful as those formerly passed, he would do nothing. If he expected to improve the state of Ireland by such means, he deceived

himself and deceived Ireland. If powers enough should be given to Lord Wellesley to put down this disturbance, Ireland would not be quiet. There were political grievances in that country which must be first redressed. (hear.) The Irish landlord had much to answer for; and the subject of tithes imperiously required to be looked into. (hear, hear.) The clergyman ought to be paid, and in many instances he was not paid as he ought to be; but the mode of paying him ought not to be such as distressed and irritated the people. The laws of residence and plurality ought also to be looked into. (hear.) If, indeed, the residence of the great families were not enforced, they had no right to expect tranquillity in Ireland. They who travelled through the south and south-west of Ireland could testify that in the most barbarous parts of Europe, no peasantry suffered so much as the peasantry there. It was not his wish to encourage disturbances; no man in that house was more anxious to have violence and disturbance effectually suppressed; but when unconstitutional laws were brought forward by ministers, he should not think he discharged his duty as a member of Parliament if he did not raise his voice against them, and if he did not call for inquiry into the grievances and distresses which made discontent unavoidable. (hear.)

Lord MOUNT CHARLES said he must give his vote and concurrence to the noble lord, after the maturest consideration. Nothing but the measures proposed could put down insurrection and rebellion, for such it now was in Ireland. He was aware that the acts were unconstitutional, but these were times when such acts were indispensably required.

Mr. SPRING RICE remarked, that if he had not been locally connected with a county in which disturbances prevailed to a distressing extent, he should still think that he ill discharged his duty in giving a silent vote upon the present occasion. They were called upon to pass measures of coercion; but as to the causes of such a necessity, they were not, it seemed, to inquire. (hear, hear.) Those who should inquire into the causes were even to be charged with supporting and protecting practices having a tendency to violate the law on the other side of the channel. (hear, hear.) That a prompt and efficacious remedy was called for, he must with pain admit. But the prospect held out of having an opportunity hereafter of considering the subject, was the only ground on which he could abstain from going into the general state of the country of which he could produce and substantiate proofs from the papers laid upon the table. He objected not to coercion. He did not stand up to advocate the giving a boon for disturbances, or to say, "Be rebellious, and in that way you will obtain advantages." He was for meeting the evil at once, and for putting it down by the laws in force already, if sufficient; or if not by such means as the wisdom of Parliament might devise. He was for applying, only after disturbances should be put down, to the wisdom of Parliament for the removal of those wrongs and sufferings, under which Ireland laboured. (hear, hear.) He had almost thought, from the manner of the noble lord, that the acts now called for had never been tried before, or that they had been tried and found effectual. Yet what had been the history of Ireland since the Union? What was to be found in its statute-book but renewals of means of coercion—of insurrection acts—of measures of severity? If they had been effectual, it would not have been necessary now for the noble lord to come down to the house to apply for the acts proposed. They had been tried and found effectual, and they had been ineffectual because, during the 20 years since the union, no measures had been undertaken, calculated to strike at the root of the evils. Lord Bacon said, "If you would destroy sedition, expel the causes which excite sedition." It was, then, by expelling from the political system of Ireland the cause of discontent and disturbance, that they were to look for a remedy. Having resided three months after the rising of Parliament, in the county of Limerick, and having in his own person witnessed the unhappy disturbances there, it was with astonishment that he found that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was thought necessary; and every gentleman connected with that county must have felt the same astonishment. By this act a new legal offence was constituted. If a man was from home during the night—if he had any ammunition about him—if he stayed in a public house beyond a certain hour, he might be taken and kept in custody. This part of the act was not, perhaps, stronger than the case required. But the mode of trial it was that he objected to. The mode of trial, though it might give temporary calm, went rather to exasperate the passions, and to aggravate future storms. (hear, hear.) It was a vulgar error to remove the superficial symptoms, while the seeds of disease were allowed to extend and strengthen their roots. The trial was committed to the local magistrate. By an amendment introduced by an honourable gentleman below him, when the act had been discussed in the Irish Parliament, a King's counsel, or a sergeant must attend with a magistrate. Another clause has been introduced, giving the power of dispensing with a jury, if the magistrate thought fit to do so. Would they not in England suppose that the trial by jury would have been resorted to in the first instance, and that it would be dispensed with only if found unfit. But let them not think that a jury had ever been tried. He had been a magistrate under the Insurrection Act, but he never heard of

the experiment having been made. The late Mr. Ponsonby, who had stood in a situation, as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to know the magistracy, had said upon examining the list, that they were every thing but what they should be. (hear, hear, hear.) One of the magistrates had been a waiter in a country inn, and had stood behind the chairs of the grand jury. (hear.) But if they were as respectable as the magistrates of England, he would not invest the magistracy of England with such a power. (hear.) Sure he was, that he would not trust himself with it under the circumstances of irritation which must exist. The houses of the magistrates were often attacked, perhaps destroyed; the magistrates were often out five nights out of seven; the gallant officer behind him (we believe Capt. O'Grady) was an instance of the exertions of magistrates; in these circumstances, would they intrust a magistrate with the absolute trial of an offender without a jury? (hear.) Could they next day after an outrage had been committed on their own persons or property, proceed to deliberate as judges on the liberty of persons accused? (hear.) They were not individuals to whom such a trust ought to be committed. But he had an authority on this subject to which he requested the attention of the house. When the commission was approaching, and while war and devastation raged all around their dwellings, the magistrates of Limerick held a meeting which the gallant officer behind him had attended. It was not held out of doors, and was not therefore likely to be influenced by popular feelings. Certain resolutions were passed, which were afterwards laid before the Government of Ireland. He felt surprised that they were not among the papers laid on the table. (hear, hear.) He cordially concurred in the views of this meeting. He would read the resolutions, and, if the noble lord had allowed him, he would have called for the reading of them from the original document laid before Government. (hear, hear.) The description of the situation of the country was highly coloured, but not exaggerated. They then expressed a desire that Parliament should meet in November, and from Parliament they asked not only means of coercion, but an inquiry into the causes of the disturbances, as well as the means of restoring tranquillity upon a permanent basis. (hear.) Magistrates in the midst of the disturbances were not, like the noble lord, against an inquiry into the causes of the disturbances. The noble lord was for no inquiry while there were disturbances; and when there was tranquillity, he would still have no inquiry. But to return. In the third resolution, the magistrates expressed a conviction, that the 54th of George III., the Insurrection Act, would be well suited to the exigencies, by amending that part of it relating to the mode of trial. (hear, hear.) They were unwilling to be invested with the powers which the noble lord in his liberality was willing to give. The difference was very great between the temper and feelings of a magistrate and a judge presiding at a trial. When a special commission was appointed, the judge was unconnected with the county—he was without passion and without prejudice. If the Magistrates presided, they created lasting dissension between themselves and the lower orders. The house would be shown to their children from which the individual had come to send so many of their kindred out of the country. He did not deny that a forcible remedy was called for, but he asked the house to let that remedy be free from worse evils than those which it removed. (hear, hear, hear.) Let them not apply a temporary remedy, which must occasion permanent mischief. One word now as to the cause of the evils to be remedied. Mixed up with the tithe system (hear, hear) was the present state of the distillery laws; two causes most prolific of jealousy, discontent, and violence. (hear, hear.) He spoke not of the distillery laws as connected with the revenue; but he would beg the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the fact, that one fourth of the convictions for criminal offences throughout the island proceeded from the distillery laws. (hear, hear.) The whole of the convictions for the four last years were 16,080; and nearly 4,000 of these were for offences against the revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was indeed the most effectual ally of Captain Rock. (hear, hear.) If they went into a committee that night upon the bill, let them have an opportunity of making some of the most obvious amendments upon it. With respect to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the noble lord had produced neither documents nor arguments to justify its adoption. Were English members prepared to pass a statute for England on such grounds? (hear, hear.) There was not a minister who would have dared to propose it on such grounds. He then turned round to the English members, and said, "give us equal protection, (loud cheers), it is on this condition that we surrender our Parliament, and trusted our interests to the United Parliament." (hear, hear.) Ireland was not represented only by the 100 members whom she sent to that house. Those members represented England as well as Ireland, and the English members represented Ireland as well as England. (hear.) If they allowed a habit to grow up of trifling with the most solemn securities for personal liberty and civil justice, they would lose their distinction among the nations, and their government would cease to be free or representative. (hear, hear.)

Captain O'GRADY stated the grounds on which he should vote for the motion of the noble lord. It was from experience that the gentlemen

of the county of Limerick (who knew best what was necessary) had altered their opinion in favour of a modified Insurrection Act for ~~eng~~ without any qualification. With respect to the distresses from which some of those evils were said to have sprung, there was no man who more sincerely deplored them than he did: he deeply lamented the miseries which afflicted his countrymen, and none did he regret more, than that intolerable nuisance the tithe system. (*hear.*)

Mr. DAWSON supported the motion, and in allusion to what had been observed by an hon. bart. (Sir J. Newport) with reference to the administration of Mr. Peel in Ireland, observed that that gentleman had never shown any indisposition to enter into inquiries respecting the state of that country.

Sir H. PARNELL said, that during his residence in Ireland since the last session, he had never lost any opportunity of making inquiries into its real situation, and into the causes of the disturbances. From all he had learned he felt convinced, that nothing short of the proposed coercive measures would be sufficient to restore its tranquillity.

Mr. BUTLER was of opinion that strong measures were necessary, yet he did not consider that religion or politics were connected with the present disturbances. The causes were entirely local, and that was one reason why he did not consider the magistrates as the best judges. (*hear, hear.*)

Mr. GRATAN thought that the law, empowering magistrates to transport the disaffected, or to confine them, would not eradicate the evils complained of.

Sir F. BURDETT next addressed the house, but for some moments his observations (owing to the noise which prevailed) were not audible in the gallery. We understood him to express his surprise at the conduct of the noble lord (Londonderry), who, for upwards of twenty years had the opportunities of knowing the real state of Ireland, of ascertaining the numerous evils which pressed upon her, and of becoming acquainted with their causes, yet had neglected all inquiries, had delayed every remedy, until now that he called upon the house to put down by force those mischiefs which he himself had thus negligently suffered to accumulate, (*hear, hear, hear.*) He confessed he did not see why the house should consent to go on with those temporary measures, which were thus used for a time, and then laid aside till they became again necessary. He was surprised that the noble lord should have the face in that house to get up and call for a repetition of those acts of dreadful oppression (for such he would call them, however necessary) without giving to the legislature an opportunity of inquiring into the nature and origin of the evils for which these palliatives were required. Was it to be tolerated, that Ireland should know nothing of this country, but by bloodshed and the gibbet? (*hear.*) He for one did not think that the evils of Ireland were to be remedied by such means; and that this was the prevalent opinion in the house, he learned from what he had heard on the present occasion. He perceived that every member who gave his support to the proposed measures, did so with considerable reluctance, as if convinced that the remedy of the evil did not lie in them. He was glad to witness this sympathy, and he trusted they would act up to its suggestions by compelling the noble lord to look about him, and to do what he had so long and so grossly neglected. It was said that the disturbances in Ireland did not arise from any political feelings. He firmly believed they did not. It was impossible that greater affection towards the Sovereign could be evinced, or that a stronger sense could be entertained of the compliment paid them on that occasion, than was shown by the Irish people in the recent visit of his Majesty to their country. This feeling was not limited—it was generally felt throughout the island. That visit had, he believed, done some good; but it was impossible that his Majesty should work miracles. Had ministers taken advantage of his Majesty's visit, as they ought to have done—had they instituted measures for ascertaining the causes of the evils which for many years afflicted that country, and taken pains to apply the proper remedy, the house might have been spared the painful task which they were now called upon to perform: but he would ask, supposing the mischiefs existing in Ireland to be as bad as they were represented—still he would ask, what remedy was there in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus? Surely the Government had already the power as much as it would then have of arresting persons on suspicion. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus did not give them more, for under that they had no authority to arrest any man without fair ground of suspicion. (*hear, hear.*) He maintained that the Government ought to be ashamed of this conduct; and he attributed the whole of it to the system of the noble lord, who had suffered those evils to increase, and now came down with great complacency to ask the house to trust his incapable hands with a power which he had before grossly and wantonly abused. It was said that the exercise of this great power was to be confided to the magistrates. He (Sir F. Burdett) was not sufficiently acquainted with Ireland to be a competent judge in this respect, but from every thing which he had heard in the course of the present discussion, the magistrates were, least of all others, the judges to whom such a power should be confided,

A noble lord (Mountcharles) had stated, that, before the month of October last, ministers were made acquainted with the disturbed state of Ireland, and that they were at that time petitioned to call parliament together to consider of the subject. Why had they not done so? Instead of this, they suffered the mischief to reach its present intolerable height, and then came down for fresh powers, as if they had been occupied all the time only in endeavours to preserve their places. Now, with respect to a remedy, he had no hesitation in saying, that the noble lord at the head of the Irish Government, who, from his great talent and character—his feelings being so much in unison on the subject of the distresses of Ireland with those of the Irish people—was the best who could have been selected for that office; he would say, that he would much prefer seeing full power put into the hands of that noble lord for a time, than assent to the present scandalous and disgraceful measure. The noble lord would well know how to apply, and would exercise it discreetly for the benefit of his countrymen; and he (Sir Francis Burdett) would put more confidence in the efficacy of his measures, when acting on his own character, and from his own feeling, than he could possibly have, when he acted only as the organ of the present administration. He would admit that acts of great outrage had been committed, and that their repetition ought to be prevented. He, in common with all others, condemned them; yet it should be known that they were not the result of deep wickedness, but arose from the pressure of such accumulated miseries, that no man, who lifted his arm to prevent or avenge the injury, but must deplore the fate of the unfortunate beings who had been driven to its commission. The hon. bart. again adverted to what he declared to be gross neglect in the noble lord (Londonderry), who had been a main instrument in effecting the union between the two countries, and thereby deprived Ireland of that which might perhaps have worked her salvation; but who had, during a series of years suffered those evils to increase, and taken no one step to prevent them. After again adverting to the propriety of confiding greater power to the hands of the noble lord at the head of the Irish Government, the hon. baronet observed, that if ministers carried such measures as the present into execution, without at the same time instituting the most minute inquiry into the real condition of Ireland, and the cause of her grievances, it would have the effect only of irritating and disgusting the people. He would not go farther into the subject at present; but conclude by saying, that if England wished to retain possession of Ireland, she must alter her system; and he might add, that it would be much better to get rid of her altogether, than attempt to preserve her authority by a system of injustice.

Mr. GILBERT (we believe) said, he had no objection to some strong measures for the purpose of putting down the present outrages; but he would maintain, that unless they were accompanied by measures of conciliation, and an earnest endeavour to redress the numerous evils with which Ireland was afflicted, they would only have the effect of considerably increasing the irritation that prevailed in that country. He would mention as one cause of that irritation, the tithe system. If ever the peace of Ireland was to be brought about, it must be by the total abolition of that system. He was against confiding such extensive power, as by these acts would be given, to the magistracy. He fully admitted that amongst them there were most respectable characters, but the whole body of them were not so; and it was well known that in Ireland justice was bought and sold. (*cheers from the Opposition.*) He entertained a hope that the noble lord would consent to inquiry.

Mr. ABERCROMBY could not agree to a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in the absence of any case to prove its necessity; and he contended that the noble lord had shown no reasonable ground why the people of Ireland should be deprived of their liberty. It was quite impossible, in his opinion, for any honest man conscientiously to support the very extraordinary proposition which the noble lord had that night submitted to them. The necessity of such a severe measure as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act did not appear to have ever entered the minds of any of the parties who had signed the documents so recently laid before Parliament; and the only reason which the noble lord had assigned for recurring to it was, that as other counties besides those at present disturbed might become disloyal, it was requisite to arm the executive government with the most extensive powers to meet such a contingent danger. He could affirm, from information which he had himself received that morning, and upon which he could implicitly rely, that in the county of Cork the appearances of insurrection had entirely ceased. The only additional instance of outrage which had come to the knowledge of the public since the writing of the Marquis Wellesley's last despatch, was a murder committed in the northern parts of the county of Cork; but that outrage, gross and violent as it was, did not appear to be of a political nature, and certainly did not justify the application of the word rebellion, in the sense that the noble lord had used it in. He would maintain that there was no rebellion in Ireland, and that to call the present disturbances by that name was impolitic, as it tended to inspire the disaffected with a confidence in the strength of their own cause, which at present they by no means felt.

If nothing was to be granted to Ireland, because a part of it was disturbed, it became the duty of hon. members to ask what boon had been granted to it—what benefits had been conferred upon it, when it enjoyed a state of perfect tranquillity? (*hear, hear.*) What had Government done for it on the Catholic question (*hear, hear.*) that important question, on which the cabinet was divided amongst themselves? What had Government done for it on the subject of tithes? (*hear, hear.*) It was true that a member of it had brought into Parliament a bill, which had excited hopes that the almost intolerable grievances of the present tithe-system would be redressed; but why had he allowed it to drop? (*hear.*) What had Government done for it as to the revision of the magistracy—a measure which had been so often promised, and so often neglected? (*hear, hear.*) Indeed, he might ask what had Government done for that unfortunate nation in the way of abolishing any one of the numerous grievances by which it was afflicted? (*hear.*) He could not recollect a single measure which they had adopted for its amelioration; and as it was too much to allow it to know nothing of England and English legislation, except from harsh and coercive measures, he should certainly vote against the proposition of the noble lord. (*cheers.*)

Mr. HUME had a question to ask of the noble marquis opposite. It was a question on the propriety of which he believed that the whole house would be divided—he begged pardon—he meant united. (*laughter.*) If the house would hear him, he was sure that they would agree with him as to the propriety of interrogating the noble marquis on the subject of the tithe-system of Ireland. (*hear, hear.*) Lest the noble marquis should think that he had suddenly taken up that question, he begged leave to inform him, that he had for the last three months been giving great attention to the evils of the tithe-system both in England and Ireland. He had been put in possession of every Parliamentary paper relative to that system (*cries of hear and laughter*), and as now he knew something about it, he wished to learn from the noble lord whether he would support a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the tithe-system and church establishment of Ireland. (*loud cries of hear.*) If such a committee were to be appointed, he should be happy to afford it his humble services (*laughter and cheers*); for every post and paper from Ireland cried out against the evils which the tithe-system created. If honourable members were aware of the dangers which it had so often created to the public tranquillity, he was sure they would not treat the subject with laughter and levity. He begged leave to state, that he should at an early period call the attention of the house to this subject; and he wished to know whether the noble lord would object to a motion of such a nature as he had just described.

Sir L. COLE rose to defend the conduct of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, regarding the appointment and revision of the magistracy.

Mr. GILBERT, in consequence of what had fallen from the last speaker, wished to mention a fact which had come within his own personal knowledge. He had transmitted to the Lord Chancellor four affidavits, accusing a magistrate of gross misconduct. Not receiving any answer to the letter which he sent along with them, he called on the Lord Chancellor to learn the effect which the affidavits had produced. He was then informed that examination had been made into the conduct of the magistrate: that he had pleaded guilty in part to the charges preferred against him; that he had attributed his errors to having been misled by a book called "Macnally's Justice;" and that he had flung himself entirely upon the clemency of his lordship. The consequence was, that the man still retained his situation as a magistrate. (*loud cries of hear, from all parts of the house.*)

Mr. D. BROWNE (as we were informed) said, that he should not feel himself justified in voting for so monstrous a proceeding as the Insurrection Act, except upon the most clear, absolute, and overpowering necessity. If it were the pleasure of the house to pass it, he trusted that they would immediately take into consideration the grievances by which Ireland had so long been afflicted. (*cheers.*)

Lord MOUNT CHARLES explained.

Mr. C. GRANT said, that he gave his vote in favour of the proposition of the noble marquis from a sad and melancholy conviction of the necessity of resorting to some such measure as the Insurrection Act. (*loud cries of hear.*) About a year and a half ago, he had had the honour of stating his opinions of that measure to the house at considerable length, and he must now say that his opinions were still as hostile as formerly to the principles on which it was founded, and to the expediency of making it part of the permanent system of policy under which Ireland was to be governed. (*loud cheering.*) But although such were his opinions, declared, too, on a former occasion, still he never had contended that cases might not arise in which it would be expedient to sacrifice a public principle to a fatal exigency of the State. He had a melancholy satisfaction in feeling that the vote which he was that night to give was more a vote of confidence in the person to whom the administration of Ireland was confided, than a vote sanctioned by any principle of sound legislation. (*hear.*) Although no such measures as it was now proposed to adopt were necessary when he left Ireland, still he was convinced

that circumstances had now so far changed as to require their adoption. (*hear.*) The papers, indeed, at present on their table, certainly did not appear to him sufficient to justify them (*hear, hear*), and if it had not been for the information that day received in town, he, for one, would not have granted to Government the powers which it had demanded. (*hear, hear.*) He now granted those powers with the greater willingness, because they were to be intrusted to a nobleman whose general intentions towards Ireland fully concurred with his own (*hear*), a nobleman, who he was sure would not allow any temporary circumstances to thwart the generous views which he entertained towards that ill-fated but high-spirited people. (*cheers.*) He was quite confident that the noble personage to whom he alluded would never have asked for any extraordinary powers without deeming them absolutely necessary. He was quite sure that having obtained those powers, he would use them with prudence and humanity, and would feel stimulated to exert himself the more for the welfare and happiness of his fellow-subjects. (*cheers.*) He trusted that the session would not be permitted to elapse before an inquiry was instituted into the state of Ireland. (*hear.*) He had intended, if he had continued in office, to have brought forward certain plans for ameliorating the condition of that country; and even though he should now be compelled to forego them, he would still object to the principle of neglecting its affairs because it was in a state of disturbance and insurrection. The hon. gentleman, after observing that the tithe system was the principal cause of the deterioration of Ireland, concluded by stating that he supported the proposed measures principally on account of the confidence which he reposed in the high character of the Marquis Wellesley. (*loud cheers.*)

The MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY then rose to reply, but gave way to

Lord EBRINGTON, who objected to the measures proposed by Government on two grounds: the first, that there was nothing in the papers before the house which justified them; and the second, that the Marquis Wellesley had not demanded them. (*hear.*)

Mr. BROUGHAM rose amidst loud cries of "question." He came, he said, with considerable reluctance between the house and the noble lord, but the importance of the question must plead his apology. He could assure his right hon. friend opposite (Mr. C. Grant) that it would have given him great satisfaction if he could have agreed with him in the view he had taken of this question, especially as he was informed by long experience, and enlightened by large and liberal views of our true policy towards Ireland—views which did him immortal honour, which had conferred great benefits upon the kingdom, and which would have conferred still greater, had his official residence there been prolonged. (*cheers.*) Indeed he felt that the impression which his right hon. friend's speech had made upon the house was only to be exceeded by the favourable impression which he had left with the inhabitants of the sister kingdom. (*loud cheers from both sides of the house.*) He was happy, however, to reflect, that the difference between himself and his right hon. friend was not great. It extended only to the vote, and not to the principle on which that vote was to be given. He agreed with his right hon. friend, that any confidence which might be demanded for the noble marquis, at present at the head of the Irish Government, was strictly his due, considering his high talents, his energy as a governor, or the enlightened principle on which he had commenced, and no doubt would continue, his administration. (*cheers.*) It was because the proposed measures were not indicative of confidence in the noble marquis.—(*hear.*)—it was because they did not apply to the evil the remedy with was required—it was because, if they were necessary, (which had been loudly asserted, though not satisfactorily, in that house,) he would much rather arm him with such powers by a specific vote of confidence, than apply a measure which was not the specific remedy for the mischiefs now devastating Ireland, that he felt himself obliged to withhold his concurrence from his right hon. friend. He would briefly state his objections to the measure in question; and first, as to the manner of hurrying it through all its stages in one night. It was only by accident that this had not been done. The delay which must now inevitably take place, had not been granted to gain time for deliberation, or to allow knowledge to be acquired from other sources by those who are totally ignorant of the state of Ireland, except so far as they had been in formed of it by the papers then before the house; but it was attributable merely to the engrossment not having been completed, that they were to have another opportunity of discussing its merits. Had the noble Lord a right to treat the house and the country in this manner? Was it right to take them by surprise, and give them only 48 hours information of circumstances, which a noble lord had confessed had been known to ministers for a period of some months? They had been told that all the evils now existing in Ireland might have been prevented had the Parliament met in October. Now was it right that they should almost be called upon to legislate after the mischiefs were committed? Would it not have been better to have called on them at an earlier period, when the remedy was applicable, instead of calling upon them at the present moment, which was some weeks after the evil had become

irremediable? (hear.) If the bill were necessary (as must be inferred from the statements of the noble Lord) so far back as October, even if the discovery of its necessity had been only made as late as last December, ought not the Government to have immediately assembled the Parliament and submitted the state of Ireland to their consideration? Yet with all this indisposition to press a case which they represented as of so much urgency, to the only deliberative body who could have given it adequate examination, the ministers now came forward to press such measures as these through all their stages in one night; and were alone prevented from accomplishing their purpose by the mechanical process of engrossing the bill not keeping pace with their avidity to pass it through that house. With this disposition to enact such suspensions of the law, why did not they take the ordinary precaution of having a house yesterday? He knew that all members were bound to attend in their places; but he also knew that ministers, when their own party and political purposes were concerned, generally took care to have their friends present in sufficient numbers to ensure a debate. Why had they not done so yesterday? and then have at least allowed the house a second day for the consideration of measures so vitally affecting the peace and tranquillity of Ireland? (hear, hear.) He did not deny the necessity which unfortunately existed for adopting some strong measures in the present unhappy state of Ireland. He hoped that, because he was unprepared to adopt, on the spur of the occasion, such acts as these, no man would infer from his disinclination to do so—no man in his sound senses could, indeed, for a moment entertain such a belief—that he could ever tolerate or endure, without immediately applying against them the severest rigour of the law, those acts of cruel and lawless outrage—those blood-thirsty deeds which now unhappily degraded a portion of the inhabitants of Ireland. (hear.) Though he agreed that strong steps must be taken—though he agreed that the military force must require augmentation, or even that a large dictatorial power ought to be temporarily granted to the individual at the head of the Irish Government—a personage whom all were disposed to trust: yet, still he saw nothing in the proposed measures calculated to abate the evil; he saw nothing in their provisions but what was both inconsistent and repugnant to the practical effect which they were intended to promote, and the more he considered them, the more he was convinced that they were inapplicable to work the remedy imputed to their operation. He repeated, that there was no measure of discretionary application which he was not ready to confide to the wisdom and responsibility of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—it was to confiding violent measures to the discretion of a different quarter that he was averse—it was, in fact, to confiding them to the discretion of the magistracy of Ireland. (hear.) These measures, be it recollected, were not intended for one or two particular districts, but were to embrace the whole of Ireland, and of course await the disposal of the entire body of the magistracy. It was only necessary to call at a single session the magistracy of a district, and there, on the instant, to enable them to alarm each other with the cries of danger, and then call into action these terrible engines of power by an appeal to the Irish Government for the aid which they had the means of granting—an aid, be it remembered, which suspended all the laws of Ireland, which annihilated all personal security, and destroyed all those safeguards with which British law had from ancient time surrounded and sheltered domestic enjoyments. (hear, hear.) Did the House know the powers which they would have conferred the moment these acts passed into a law? In the first place, there was the power of visiting any house in the disturbed district, at any hour between sun-set and sun-rise—to pry into the most retired and delicate quarter of that house in which the females of the family were lodged,—to enter into it forcibly (if necessary), after allowing what was called a reasonable delay, to allow the inmates to permit ingress—to arrest after this domiciliary visit, those who should be found absent at night, and then, for no other cause than that absence, the party was liable to a sentence of seven years transportation, which all past experience showed them would be assuredly inflicted. (hear, hear, hear.) All this was to be done without the finding of a bill by a grand jury, or the trial of a petty jury, or any appeal from the magistrates to a higher tribunal. A man who might, after drinking in a public-house, remain there after sun-set, he not being a regular inmate or a traveller—a stay which a man so engaged was not unlikely to make—such a person became exposed to the full penalties of this law. This was a large power, a frightful discretion, to vest in any man, qualified as he might be for its moderate and cautious exercise; but to deposit it with a large class of men naturally actuated by the passions engendered in their petty local quarrels, in a time of considerable inflammation, was a step which he could never admit. (hear.) Let it never be forgotten, that when an integral part of this act was first enacted in 1807, it was strenuously combatted by his right hon. friend (Sir J. Newport), and a vain attempt made to curb any monstrous extension of the violent authority conferred by this act, by enabling the party aggrieved to appeal to a jury for redress from the infliction of wanton and frantic oppression. It should be recollected, that when that attempt had been made a clause was adopted which made the judge who was to preside on the trial the sole umpire in the cause, and empowered him, if he certified that no malice appeared on the face of the proceeding, to

order the jury to award only sixpence damages, and to disallow all costs. (hear, hear.) This was the mode of redress provided in the bill, where the judge certified that he saw probable ground for doubting the malice imputed to the party against whom the remedy was sought by the sufferer. Of these magistrates he was anxious to avoid speaking rashly; but he should reiterate the description given of them by their own countrymen, who ought to know their qualities and actions. One gentleman said that the magistrates of Ireland were not always men having—as they ought to have—property in the land: but were middlemen, known to the people over whom they were to act by anything but the beneficial ties of landlord and tenant—known in the lay affairs of the community just as the tithe-proctor was in the ecclesiastical—known only as the grinding engines of hardship and oppression. Another gentleman had said, that so little sedulous was the selection made of men to fill the magistracy, that he knew a waiter who stood behind his chair to have afterwards found his way into the commission of the peace. Another gentleman who had a hereditary right to speak upon Irish affairs (Mr. Gratton) had told them, that instead of wishing to increase the power of the magistrates of that country, he should rather see a bill brought in to abolish them altogether. (hear.) Then came the declaration of the hon. member near him (Mr. Rice,) that while the magistracy existed upon their present footing, justice might be said, without a figure of speech, to be both bought and sold in Ireland. Were these the men who were to be intrusted with the use of such formidable powers? Were these the men into whose hands the whole rights and security of a people were to be betrayed, without inquiry or discussion, or reservation of any kind? (hear.) He had heard it said that no greater encouragement could be afforded to the disaffected than to resist the adoption of these measures of severity. The imputation was unjust; they who thought with him that the proposed measures were severe and inadequate, were ready to invest the proper authorities with ample powers; but they complained that when Ministers came forward with such propositions, they took no pains to connect with them, contingent on the suppression of the present disturbance, conciliatory measures calculated to heal deep-rooted animosities, and allay the heart-burnings of society in that misgoverned country. They always pressed forward the strong and terrible arm of power, without at the same time holding out the fostering hand of conciliation and protection. (hear, hear.) What else but disorganization could be expected in a state of society where misgovernment was never checked, until its results were demonstrated in the open violence of rebellion? The noble lord had said, that Ireland had been for upwards of twenty years under the united government of England—he might, indeed, have said, that nearly for the whole of these 20 years that country had been placed under his own control and direction, and then he need not have added, that the result of all these long years of misgovernment was a state of actual rebellion. That Ireland was in a great portion afflicted with rebellion against the Government, it had remained for the noble lord to avow; there were other things which they all knew; for instance, in Ireland it was notorious that the great bulk of the population were divided between two church establishments—one of them an established church which exceeded even that of Catholic countries, where the abuse of papacy was most complained of, and which did not attempt the education of a tenth or a twelfth portion of the population under their charge. Every body knew in Ireland it was so contrived, that there should be a non-resident clergy to reconcile the people to the tithe proctors—an absent gentry to reconcile the tenantry to middle men, and the due payment of rents. It was no wonder that such results attended such a state of things (hear, hear); the only wonder was, how Parliament could have looked on so long, and not taken a single step to interpose between the natural cause and the necessary evil. (hear.) It was clear that his Majesty's Government had planned no measure of conciliation; and the noble lord had plainly avowed, that while things remained in their present agitated state, it was no time to talk of recommending particular measures to the consideration of the Irish Government. If the noble lord, indeed, intended to try his hand at changing the policy of the Irish Government, he would find himself beset by insurmountable obstacles according to his present system of policy. Did the noble lord recollect the principle upon which his cabinet was formed to act on questions of Irish policy? That cabinet was so constituted, that on the most fundamental (and to use a phrase of the Noble Lord's) most material feature of their policy towards Ireland—that cabinet which, if fairly formed, was calculated to do a great deal of good, its numbers often equalling those of a popular assembly where he had seen tax bills to a large amount passed, happened to be made, depended upon so nice a system of management, that the members, whenever an Irish question came before them, were so equally balanced, as to neutralize any attempt to produce practical good upon the discussion of such subjects. Indeed this balancing was carried to so nice a point, that when a cabinet vacancy occurred, instead of looking for a successor fit for the office, the whole scrutiny was to find a man imbibing the opinions of his predecessors upon the Catholic question. (hear, hear.) There was no hope of making the quality equal to the quantity in the composition of a body of men so constituted;

ner could any spirit of conciliation break forth from their system. He rejoiced that his hon. friend behind him (Mr. Haime) had directed his attention to the subject of tithes in Ireland; but he felt with him the necessity of having any measure upon that subject originated by some of the ministers. Then, alone, could it be efficacious. Much as he regarded the great exertions of his hon. friend, yet still he thought that incalculable mischiefs would attend the exercise of any efforts to remedy the evil, unless with the concurrence and co-operation of the Government of the country. With reference to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, he must remind the house, that either the country was in a state of universally prevailing discontent, or the statement respecting it was much exaggerated, and the insurrection more limited. If the latter then there was no reason why the ordinary powers of the law should not be tried, aided by the increase of a large military force. But if, on the other hand, the whole class of society had become tainted, then he was at a loss to see how the Insurrection Act could aid the views of Government. After all, the Government must depend upon the military for the execution of these acts. The magistracy could not in person pay all the domiciliary visits—they must in some of them depend upon the assistance of the military. Why not try the experiment of an augmentation of the military force first? It might be tried without any additional cost to their finances, and without an irreparable cost to the constitution and the law. (hear.) Now one word as to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The noble lord had declared that neither political nor religious animosities were mixed up in the present disturbances. If, then, a power were given to imprison without trial, it was a measure wholly inapplicable to the alleged mischief? for the suspension act was only applicable to cases of political or religious dissension, when some violent political or religious agitator was stalking abroad, and when it was desirable that the Government should have the power of removing him from the centre of his operations. What, then, would the natural consequence be when the people found such an act as that passed, which alone was applicable to political or religious contests? They would infer that it was directed against their leaders—men who probably enjoyed that rank among them from the part they took in their religious or political controversies? and that was the sure way to provoke and embody in the disturbances that from which the noble lord admitted they were now happily free; and to promote that exasperating evil, which happily did not at the present moment deform the condition of society in Ireland. (hear, hear.) He concluded by begging pardon of the house for the time he had occupied, and by stating that he could not reconcile it to himself to give a silent vote upon a question of such immense importance. (hear.)

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY rose to explain one or two points of his speech which had been misinterpreted. The bill was now ready (it had been prepared since he last spoke), and if the measure were deemed valuable, he thought not a moment should be lost in giving it practical application. He thought he had already satisfactorily shown that the Government did not rush into these measures with rashness and haste; they had waited to try the operation of the ordinary laws, the application of military force in the disturbed districts, and the action of a special commission, all of which had failed; and they now applied for these measures as the only remaining enactments which could be brought into operation. The insurrection (if that term suited the hon. and learned gentleman better than rebellion) had at last assumed a new character, and required the enforcement of a more prompt and exemplary measure. He had already quoted a precedent which he still hoped would direct their judgement in immediately passing these two bills. The bills had been so often passed, that no delay was necessary to enable the house more perfectly to comprehend their provisions. The only question, then, was as to their expediency. Their necessity he had already affirmed; he deplored it as much as any man, and he admitted that they were great inroads upon the law and the constitution. It was said that they were unaccompanied by any measures of conciliation, and an inference was raised that Government was averse to the due consideration of such measures as the state of Ireland required. He denied that inference, and declared his readiness to hear and discuss whatever proposition the right hon. bart. (Sir J. Newport,) or any other member, had to propose for the relief of that country; and as to the Catholic question, the honourable and learned gentleman had talked of the cabinet, as if it presented a novel spectacle in being divided upon that great subject; did he not know that the cabinet which had preceded them had been also, though not in the same degree, divided on that subject? (hear.) The hon. and learned gentleman's discovery had not, therefore, the claim of novelty upon that point. (hear.) He was perfectly ready to discuss the Catholic question whenever it was introduced; but he hoped and believed that the Catholics themselves were not disposed to adopt a tone of menace or to seek, in moments of civil tumult, the attainment of their claims. It was a little whimsical to mark the constitutional feeling which the learned gent. and those who thought with him adopted to suit their own purposes: they talked of balancing constitutional principles in the Cabinet; and yet these modern Whigs were ready to create a dictator, and invest him with the full exercise of those powers which they were

at the same time ready to deny to an act of the legislature, setting forth the evil, and specifying the remedy, and restraining and limiting the scope and period of its operation. He (Lord Londonderry) had the utmost deference and respect for the Marquis Wellesley: but he was not prepared to erect him or any other human being into a dictator, as the Whigs of the modern school were so ready to create. (hear, hear.) The good people of this land wanted no dictator—they preferred the letter of the law, however harsh, to the will of any individual, however gifted. He denied the fairness of estimating the present measures by putting extreme cases respecting their operation; and said that if even the magistrates were venal, they had not the summary power to commit the acts of oppression which the hon. and learned gentleman seemed to think they were capable of committing under this act. The honourable and learned gentleman ought, as a lawyer, to have known that the magistrates were to be aided by the assistant barrister of the district, and a King's sergeant from Dublin: the latter having the power, if he pleased, to refer the decision of the magistrates to the Lord Lieutenant, and Privy Council. He did not mean to say that this was a law under which he should like to pass his days; but when vengeance stalked abroad, and assassination and midnight robbery were systematic and general, it was necessary to suppress the spirit of outrage by prompt and effectual means. (hear, hear.) With respect to the other law, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act he had, he confessed, a still greater repugnance to its adoption: if one measure more than another, it went nearest to his heart to part with, it was precisely that act. (a laugh from the Opposition side of the house, and cries of hear from the Ministerial side.) He repeated his expression, and said that if the measure were not applicable to districts actually disturbed, it was most certainly to adjoining districts, where emissaries might be engaged in disseminating the seeds of insubordination. (hear, hear.) This he had no hesitation in saying, that "for that class of persons,—those emissaries who went about in parts of the country that were, or had been tranquil, and who disseminated their seditious venom every where they travelled—the Suspension bill alone could be effectual. On these grounds he contended, that it was just and wise, and manly and prudent in the Marquis Wellesley, to prove to the people of Ireland, that while he was determined to proceed upon those benevolent and enlightened principles, which he had professed as the guide of his conduct, he was determined to found that benevolent and liberal system of government by the rule of law, and by the provisions of the constitution. The hon. and learned gentleman had said, that in the papers on the table, he found no trace whatever of that distressing state of things which, it was contended, called for the measures in agitation; and undoubtedly he did not; and his Majesty's Ministers felt that they should have betrayed their duty to the country, and their duty to the Marquis Wellesley, if they had suffered publicly to transpire those views of the existing state of things, upon which he had felt it proper to refer to the Crown the propriety of originating the measures now in question. Ministers could not have brought those views under the notice of the house, without exposing the views entertained by his lordship, in a more naked shape to the public than was advisable. "But," continued the noble lord, "I here, as a minister of the crown, acting in that capacity upon my own responsibility in Parliament, do declare that I have not taken any step, except at the desire and at the earnest request of that person; who is more immediately to be considered as the head of the Government of Ireland. And I do here deliver the solemn request of Marquis Wellesley to this house, that if you would wish him to perform those high duties which he is called upon to discharge, you will give him those high and extensive powers which have been given to his predecessors in former instances." As for the honourable gentlemen who were disposed to raise Lord Wellesley into that sort of demi-god, that they would wish to make him dictator of Ireland, without any written law to direct his government, he (Lord Londonderry) would say, that he accepted their concessions of praise to that noble lord; but he was not himself disposed to confer an authority, so indefinite and so extensive, upon any man. (cheers.) Lord Wellesley was far too generous and too manly to desire to be invested with any such arbitrary rule. (hear.) He indeed, wished to govern Ireland upon those mild, and liberal, and conciliatory principles, which his Majesty had been pleased to prescribe to him, as the great rule of his government. He had the satisfaction, in conclusion, of stating that these Bills had come over to England, not only approved of by the Marquis Wellesley himself, but after having been prepared by the present Attorney-General of Ireland.

Mr. BROUGHAM begged to say one word in explanation. The noble lord had intimated, partly, he presumed, as seriously speaking and partly in his joocular way, that he (Mr. Brougham) had spoken as if desirous of conferring on the present Lord Lieutenant dictatorial power. He never wished to give such a power to any man; but what he said was this—that when it was proposed to give to local magistrates these large and extraordinary powers, under such acts as these, he (Mr. Brougham) would rather confer them upon an experienced and respected officer like Lord Wellesley, without them.

PARLIAMENTARY.

—801—

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY understood, then, that the hon. and learned gentleman would rather desire that Lord Wellesley should sit as judge in his own palace and person, of all cases in which individuals had been detected out late at night. (*a laugh.*)

Mr. DOMINICK BROWNE then addressed the house; but the reiterated cries of "Question, question" and "Spoke," rendered him totally inaudible in the gallery.

The house was then cleared for division; which took place:

For bringing in the bill, 103—Against it, 68—Majority, 127.

During the exclusion of strangers, another division took place on the question that the bill be read a first time. The numbers were understood to be.

For the first reading, 202—Against it, 44—Majority 158.

The second reading of the bill, as we collected, was then agreed to without a division. But on the question of printing the bill, the house again divided. The numbers were stated to be,

For the printing, 142—Against it, 25—Majority 117.

On our re-admission into the gallery, we found

Mr. SPRING RICE on his legs. A well as the noise and confusion prevailing in the house would allow us to collect his meaning, he intimated that he should feel bound to take the sense of the house upon the bill's now going into a committee.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY expressed a wish, that the honourable and learned gentleman would not persist in his motion, but allow the bill to pass its several stages to-night, so that it might be sent up to the other house to-morrow, receive the royal sanction on Saturday, and be transmitted to Ireland this week. The honourable and learned gentleman could not gravely persist in his motion of adjournment.

Mr. DENMAN said, that he would use his privilege as a member of the house, and oppose the passing of the bill to-night, if the noble lord persisted in his determination of pressing it. Such a measure as this, involving the liberties and rights of a great country, ought not to pass like a formal indemnity bill, to which no objections could be made, and on which no information was required. Powers like those granted by this bill ought not to be granted without the fullest deliberation, and he was surprised at the tone of levity which the noble lord employed on a question so grave and momentous. He concluded by giving notice, that if the noble lord persisted in his motion, he would employ the forms of the house to prevent such a precipitate vote.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said, as the honourable and learned gentleman intended to employ those forms which might stop the passing of the Insurrection Bill to-night, he would not press it, but would only beg that the other bill (the Habeas Corpus Suspension) might be allowed without opposition to pass through the same stages, that both might proceed together.

This motion was agreed to.

The Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill was introduced, read a first and second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

The house then adjourned at a quarter past one o'clock.

MINORITY

AGAINST THE SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT—68 TO 195.

Abercromby, Hon. J.
Barrett, S. B. M.
Beaumont, T. W.
Benyon, B.
Bernal, R.
Birch, J.
Bright, H.
Brougham, H.
Burdett, Sir F.
Bury, Lord
Calvert, N.
Calvert, C.
Carter, J.
Clifton, Lord
Creavey, T.
Crompton, S.
Davis, Colonel
Denman, T.
Denison, W. J.
Ebrington, Lord
Ellice, E.
Ferrand, R.
Fergusson, Sir R.
Fitzgerald, Lord W.

Fitzgibbon, Hon. R.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Folkestone, Lord
Forbes, Lord
Grattan, J.
Gurney, H.
Hamilton, Lord A.
Heron, Sir R.
Hill, Lord A.
Honywood, W. P.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Hume, J.
James, W.
Johnson, Colonel
Lambton, J. G.
Leunard, T. B.
Lushington, Dr.
Maberly, J.
Maberly, Colonel
Mackintosh, Sir J.
Marjoribanks, S.
Moore, P.
Nugent, Lord

Newport, Sir J.
Orde, W.
Ossulston, Lord
Palmer, Colonel
Price, R.
Ricardo, D.
Roberts, A. W.
Roberts, Colonel
Rickford, W.
Rice, S.
Scarlett, J.
Sefton, Earl
Smith, W.
Smith, Hon. R.
Stuart, Lord J.
Tierney, Rt. Hon. G.
Tennyson, C.
Wilson, Sir R.
Wood, Mr. Alderman
Winnington, Sir T. E.

Tellers.
Bennet, Hon. G.
Hutchinson, Hon. H.

MINORITY

ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS BILL BEING PRINTED TO GIVE TIME TO CONSIDER. SECOND DIVISION ON THE BILL.

Bernal, R.
Bright, H.
Burdett, Sir F.
Calvert, C.
Cavendish, H.
Denman, T.
Grattan, J.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Heron, Sir R.

Hutchinson, C. H.
James, W.
Johnson, Colonel
Lushington, Dr.
Nugent, Lord
Ossulston, Lord
Price, R.
Ricardo, D.
Roberts, A. W.

Roberts, Colonel
Wood, Alderman
Wilson, Sir R.
Winnington, Sir T. E.

Tellers.
Hume, Joseph,
Moore, Peter.

London Gazette.

LONDON GAZETTE, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1822.

[This Gazette notifies the following as constituting the Board of Admiralty:—Lord Melville, Sir W. Johnstone Hope, Sir John Osborn, Sir George Cockburn, Sir Henry Hotham, Sir George Clerk, and W. R. Keith Douglas, Esq. Likewise that Sir George Warrender has been sworn a member of the Privy Council.]

CARLTON-HOUSE, FEBRUARY 6, 1822.

Duchy of Lancaster.—His Majesty has been pleased to nominate and appoint James Shuttleworth, of Barton-lodge, Esq., Sheriff of the county palatine of Lancaster, for the year ensuing.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE, FEBRUARY 7, 1822.

The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household has appointed Sir William Adams, Oculist Extraordinary to his Majesty.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE, FEBRUARY 9, 1822.

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify to Sir Henry Hallford, Bart., President of the Royal College of Physicians, that who-ever is honoured with that appointment in future, shall in consequence of such appointment, be one of his Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary during his Presidency.

WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 7, 1822.

The King has been pleased to grant unto the Rev. Charles Lloyd, Doctor in Divinity, the office and place of Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, together with the place and dignity of a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the said University, properly belonging to the Regius Professor of the said University, being void by the death of Dr. Frodsham Hodson.

WAR OFFICE, FEBRUARY 8, 1822.

1st or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards—Brevet Major J. Gunthorpe to be captain and Lieutenant-colonel, by purchase, vice Streetfield, who retires. Lieut. W. F. Tining to be lieutenant and captain, by purchase, vice Gunthorpe. Captain P. Clarke to be adjutant, vice Gunthorpe, promoted.

56th Regiment of Foot—Ensign W. Ouseley to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice Brough, promoted. Ensign B. F. Noyes, from half-pay 25th Foot, to be ensign, vice W. H. Pyne, who exchanges, receiving the difference.

80th ditto—Sergeant W. Campbell to be quartermaster, vice Macdougall, deceased.

89th ditto—J. P. Gordon, gent. to be ensign, by purchase, vice Denzey, appointed to the 11th Foot.

Rifle Brigade—Lieutenant V. Webb to be adjutant, vice Unlocks who resigns the adjutantcy only.

1st Royal Veteran Battalion—Captain J. Leech, from the late 5th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be captain, vice Mackrell, whose appointment has not taken place. Ensign R. Mackenzie, from the late 7th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be ensign.

2d Royal Veteran Battalion—Captain T. Dillon, from the late 2d Royal Veteran Battalion, to be captain.

3d Royal Veteran Battalion—Lieut. G. B. Williams, from the late 3d Royal Veteran Battalion, and Lieut. S. M'Caol, from ditto, to be lieutenant. Ensign T. Byrne, from the late 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be ensign.

CARLTON HOUSE, FEBRUARY 4, 1822.

This day had audience of his Majesty, the Count St. Martin D' Aglie, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Sardinia, to deliver his new credentials; Monsieur de Souza, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Portugal and the Brasil, to deliver his letters of recall; and the Baron de Werther, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Prussia, to deliver his credentials: to which audiences they were severally introduced by the Marquis of Londonderry, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and conducted by Sir Robert Chaster, Knight, Master of the Ceremonies.

WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 4, 1822.

The King has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, constituting and appointing the Right Honourable Charles Warkyn Williams Wynne: the Right Honourable Robert Marquess of Londonderry, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, the Right Honourable Henry Earl Bathurst, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and the Right Honourable Robert Peel, his Majesty's three principal Secretaries of State; the Right Honourable Robert Banks, Earl of Liverpool, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; the Right Honourable Nicholas Vansittart, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer; the Right Honourable John Baron Teignmouth; the Right Honourable John Sullivan; James Brownlow William Cecil, Esq. (commonly called Viscount Cranborne); the Right Honourable William Henry Fremantle; the Right Honourable Sir George Warrander, Baronet; and Joseph Phillimore, Doctor of Laws, his Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of India.

WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 5, 1822.

The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. Robert Viscount Melville, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle; Sir Wm. Johnstone Hope, Knight Commander of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet; Sir John Osborn, Bart.; Sir George Cockburn, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet; the Hon. Sir Henry Hotham, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Rear-Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet; and William Robert Keith Douglas, Esq. to be his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands and territories thereto belonging.

FOREIGN OFFICE, FEBRUARY 5, 1822.

The King has been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Sir William A'Court, Bart. G. C. B. late his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Majesty the King of the Spains.

WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 4, 1822.

The King has been pleased to nominate and appoint Alexander Ferrier, Esq. to be Conservator of the Privileges of his Majesty's Royal Boroughs in Scotland, at Campvere, &c.

The Army.

LONDON GAZETTE, SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1822.

1st Royal Veteran Battalion.—To be Captains.—Brevet Major Archibald McIntyre, from the late 3d Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated 29th December, 1821. Captain Thomas Strangways, from the late 9th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Lieutenants.—Lieutenant Hugh Henry Lynch, from the late 3d Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above. Lieutenant William Carrington, from the late 2d Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Ensigns.—Ensign Thomas Henry Doyle, from the late 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above. Ensign William Rennick, from the late 9th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Quartermaster.—Quartermaster Robert Pegley, from the late 4th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Surgeon.—Surgeon Mathew Lamert, from half-pay of the late 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Assistant Surgeon.—Assistant Surgeon Maurice Fitzgerald Quill, from half-pay, 91st Foot. Dated as above.

2d Royal Veteran Battalion.—Major Charles Reynolds, from the late 8th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be Major. Dated as above.

To be Lieutenants.—Lieutenant William Shawe, from the late 5th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above. Lieutenant William Henry Armstrong, from the late 10th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above. Lieutenant Maurice O'Connell, from the late 2d Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Ensign.—Ensign James Lawrie, from the late 9th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Adjutant and Ensign.—Adjutant John Hogan, from the late 9th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

To be Surgeon.—Surgeon Francis Leigh, M.D. from half-pay 66th Foot. Dated as above.

To be Assistant-Surgeon.—Assistant-Surgeon James Cross, from the half-pay of the 5th Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above.

3d Royal Veteran Battalion.—Captain George Young, from the late 4th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be Captain. Dated as above. Lieutenant Timothy Richard Jauns, from the late 4th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be Lieutenant. Dated as above. Ensign Lionel Biggs, from the late 3d Royal Veteran Battalion. Dated as above. Surgeon John Lear, from the half-pay of the 2d Royal Veteran Battalion, to be Surgeon. Dated as above. Assistant Surgeon Thomas Lewis, from half-pay of the 6th Royal Veteran Battalion, to be Assistant Surgeon. Dated as above.

Hospital Staff.—Hospital Assistant Richard Walsh, from the half-pay, to be Hospital Assistant to the Forces, vice Orr promoted in the 90th Foot. Dated 17th January 1822.

Commission signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Berwick.

Sir David Milne, K. C. B. to be Deputy Lieutenant Date 12th Nov. 1821. Colonel James Home to be ditto. Dated as above.

David Anderson, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

George Dickson, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Commissions signed by the Lieutenant and High Sheriff of the Sheriffdom or Stewartry of Kirkcudbrige.

Sir John Gordon, Bart. to be Deputy Lieut. Dated 20th Nov. 1820.

Captain James Murray Gordon, R. N. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Edward Charles Fletcher, Esq. to be ditto. Dated 24th November, 1820.

Robert Maitland, Esq. to be ditto. Dated 13th March, 1821.

David McCulloch, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

William Stochart, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Thomas McMillan, Esq. to be ditto. Dated 21st March, 1821.

John Herries Maxwell, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

William Maitland, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire Regiment of Militia.

Robert Fullarton, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Gordon, resigned. Dated 21st May, 1821.

Kirkcudbrights Corps of Gentlemen Yeomanry Cavalry.

William Barkly Ireland Gordon, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Herbertson, promoted. Dated 7th November 1821.

William Marshall, Gent. to be ditto, vice McMillan resigned. Dated as above.

Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of the County of York, City and County of the City of York.

William Collins, Esq. to be Deputy Lieutenant. Dated 22d Oct. 1821.

William Prest, Esq. to be ditto. Dated 10th of November 1821.

John Blayds, jun. Esq. to be ditto. Dated 14th January 1822.

3d West York Militia.—Major Francis Dacre to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Brooksbank, resigned. Dated 10th January 1822.

Commissions signed by the Lord Lieut. of the County of Carmarthen. The Honorable George Rice, to be Deputy Lieutenant. Dated 25th October, 1821.

John Howell, Esq. to be Deputy Lieutenant. Dated as above.

Evan Prothero, M.D. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Walter Rice Howell Powell, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

John Jones, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

George Lloyd, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

James Thomas, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Henry Lloyd, Esq. Dated as above.

John Williams Gwynne Hughes, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Sackville Gwynne, jun. Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

William Jones, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Richard Davys, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Rev. Thomas Williams, to be ditto. Dated as above.

John George Herbert Griffiths Williams, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

William O. Brigstocke, jun. Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

James Richard Lewis Lloyd, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

John George Phillips, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Grismond Phillips, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

Thomas Lloyd, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

George Bowen, Esq. to be ditto. Dated as above.

ASIATIC DEPARTMENT.

— 803 —

Indian News.

Bhilra.—By a letter from Bhilra, we learn that a Mutiny has broken out in two of Scindia's Battalions, near Seronge, the cause of which is alleged to be their having a quantity of wages due to them, which they apprehend the Sirdars have kept back for their own use; they have consequently turned quite outrageous, beating some of their Officers, and by way of paying themselves, are committing robberies in the Mahajuns and rich inhabitants. The English authorities fearing they might also plunder that place and Barseah, have sent a detachment of Military and some Guns to keep them in awe, which it is hoped will deter them from committing any serious depredations.—*Letter.*

Bombay, June 5, 1822.—On the morning of Thursday, the free Trader SWALLOW, Captain A. Ross from London the 14th and Plymouth the 27th January, anchored in the Harbour.—Passengers:—Mrs. Harper, Miss Cameron, Mr. Farquhar, Cadet.

Upon a careful examination of the papers received by this opportunity, we find no material addition to the intelligence which we have for some time past been in possession of.

A few mild showers of rain have fallen since Wednesday last, and we think the South West monsoon may be considered as having commenced.

We have the pleasure to announce the arrival yesterday morning of the H. C. Ship MACQUEEN Captain James Wilson, from England 25th January, St. Helena 13th April, and Johanna (where she touched for a few hours only) 18th May.

The MACQUEEN spoke the ships EARL KELLIE and CHARLES GRANT from China to the Eastward of the Cape—and at Johanna the Ship LORD CASTLEREAGH. We are concerned to find that this latter vessel is returning to Bombay to refit. She encountered, it would appear, a severe gale of wind when off the Cape, and springing a leak, it became necessary to throw overboard a portion of her Cargo. We learn with extreme regret by letters received per MACQUEEN that Lieutenant Colonel Barclay (a Passenger on board the CASTLEREAGH) died on the 18th of March.

Passengers by the Macqueen.—Captain Walker, Lieutenant Dominicetti, —Marine, Lieutenant Saunders, 8th Regiment N.I., —Lieutenant Doveton, Mr. Thomas Maughan, Mr. Charles Towner, Mr. J. M. Ardlie, Mr. P. Byrnes, Mr. W. Cummings, Eliza Davis, Mary Vittoria and Child, with a Detachment of H. M.'s 20th Regiment.

We are indebted to the kindness of a friend for the following communication.

The SARAH, Thacker, arrived at St. Helena on the 4th April—all well. She was there on the 6th, but was expected to sail on the following day.—*Bombay Gazette.*

Letter from Singapore.—We have great pleasure in publishing the following Extract from a letter we have received from a Gentleman at Singapore, and under such favorable prospects, we earnestly hope to see that valuable Possession permanently confirmed to the British Crown.

"You can form no idea of the growing importance of this *Colonie Naissante*."—If it is confirmed under British Supremacy, I will venture to predict, that in a very short period, the whole important Commercial transactions of the Eastern Archipelago will centre here.

"Already there are very extensive Plantations going forward on the Island itself—the soil of which is infinitely more rich and productive than that of Penang, and attended with much less difficulty in bringing into a state of cultivation.—But its local situation is so peculiarly advantageous, that there is nothing wanting saving the annihilation of the existing doubts as to its retention—at once to render it a great Emporium for the Produce both of the Western and Eastern Hemispheres."

Our Letters from Penang, also mention the Market at that Presidency to continue in a state of as great inactivity as those in China.

We are happy to inform the friends of Colonel Nicol, the respected Adjutant General of the Bengal Army, that he had much improved in health from his visit to the Green Islet. He proposed taking a Bungalow on the Hill for some weeks, and our Letters mention him greatly to enjoy the cool temperate climate which the situation affords.

We regret to report the Death of Captain John Scott the Master Attendant of Prince of Wales Island, after a short illness. Captain Scott had for many years been a Commander in the H. C. Service, and was much respected by the Society of Penang.

Mr. Brakine the Senior Member of Council at Penang had been himself indisposed, but we are happy to state that he had made considerable progress towards recovery before the SCOTT sailed.

The DAUNTLESS reached Penang in seven weeks from New South Wales, and brings Treasure from Lima for some of the Commercial Houses of this City to the extent we understand of about one Lac of Spanish Dollars.

Our Penang Letters further mention, that that Government had granted Bills on Bengal at the Exchange of Sa. Rs. 209½ per 100 Dollars.

The MAITLAND continued at Penang on the Departure of the SCOTT, proposing to follow in a couple of days.

Accounts have been received from China by the JAMES SCOTT, mentioning that the whole of the Company's Cotton by that ship and the ALMORA and SUSAN had been sold at 7½. 5m. per Pecul.—The Commander of the SCOTT had been under the necessity occasioned by stress of weather to throw over board a large portion of the Company's Cotton, on the voyage from this to China.

The Ship ORIENT, Captain Wallace, was not allowed to land her Passengers either at the Cape or St. Helena, in consequence of the Small Pox having broken out on board. Mr. Perry and Mr. Majoribanks of the Civil Service, passengers from Bengal, would therefore be constrained to proceed on to England, unless they met with a Ship on their way which would bring them back. Should these gentlemen be compelled to visit England, a question will of course arise, whether they will lose their Salaries or not. The Act of Parliament is peremptory on the point, but it may reasonably be concluded, that every practicable degree of indulgence will be extended to them, under such particular circumstances.

We understand that no resignations in the Military Service have been received; and that it has been determined to send out an additional number of Cadets to the Presidencies, for the Infantry only we believe.

By letters received yesterday from Dacca, dated the 22d inst. it appears that the accounts published in all the Papers here of the inundation at Burrasaul, have been very much exaggerated. The writer, whose veracity may be depended on, says that "there was not a single human life lost at the station of Backergunge, and he knows that Rice was selling at Burrasaul 4 days since (that is since the 22d, the date of his letter) at the same price as in the Bazar at Dacca." There has been however he says great destruction of property, and perhaps also of lives in the remote part of the district; but no accounts have yet been received we understand from the Acting Magistrate, on the subject, and we may therefore reasonably indulge the hope, that the loss of lives, if any, has been very inconsiderable.—*John Bull.*

Note.—All accounts agree in the fact of the European Gentleman at Burrasaul having had his house so overflowed, as to be obliged to take refuge in a palanquin on the top of the roof. As the country is a dead level, without even trees to take refuge in, what must have been the fate of those who live in huts, if they who had houses were obliged to take refuge on the roofs!

Backergunge Subscription.

We have the pleasure to add the following names to the List of Subscribers to the Relief of the Sufferers in Backergunge and Burrisaul, since our last:—

Names.	Sums.
Amount previously advertised, Rupees	11289
E. J. Roussac.....	100
Baboo Nob Kissen Sing.....	200
P. P. Lopez and A. P. Lopez.....	20
J. Ives.....	50
G. Jessop.....	50
Lieutenant Colonel Mount.....	200

Total up to Wednesday,.....11909

Another Indian Newspaper.

Prospectus of a Weekly Guzeratte Newspaper, entitled Bombayna Sammachar, to be edited and printed by Furdoojee Murzbanjee.

(From the Bombay Gazette of the 8th instant.)

The first Number of the Work will be issued from the Press on Monday the 1st of July next, and continued on every ensuing Monday.

The "Bombayna Sammachar" will consist of Advertisements, Foreign and Domestic Intelligence, and Occurrences, from the English and Indian Newspapers; choice collections of Moral Lessons, as well as the Writings on rational subjects from the best English and Persian Books; the Ships' Arrivals and Departures, and all the approved Communications of Correspondents; the whole will be translated into Guzeratte, also, Curiosities, Anecdotes, Poetry, and other amusing and edifying Miscellanies will occasionally appear in the English, Persian, and Arabic; the most interesting Heads of Commercial Matters, including an extensive and accurate Price Current.

The Editor proposes charging Subscribers Two Rupees per Month, or Six Rupees per Quarter, to be paid either Monthly or Quarterly.

Subscriptions will be received by the Editor at his own Office in the Vegetable Market, Bazar Gate Street, where a Paper accompanied by the Prospectus is open for Subscriber's names.

Subscribers to the Bombay Na Sammachar.

THE HONORABLE THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
FIFTY COPIES.*

(Then follows a Long List of Indian Names.)

* We should like to know whether the Government of Bengal patronize the Native Papers of Calcutta so liberally. We have reason to believe not. Yet they are likely to be less obnoxious than a certain Paper which shall be nameless, but which, as JOHN BULL said of his own on one occasion, is glanced at clandestinely in a sort of CROM. CON. by those who cannot see it openly, when they enjoy perhaps with a higher zest its stolen embraces.

Nautical Notices.

By a Letter dated 8th February last, from a respectable house in London, we learn that the ASIA, with upwards of 900 hogsheds of Pale Ale, had put back, dismasted; we hear also, that the AROLLO, which ship had been abandoned, had 769 hogsheds of Beer on board.—From a Correspondent.

THE CITY OF EDINBURGH, Captain Wise, arrived off Dover on the 7th of February. On the 10th February the Ship letter office notified their intention of dispatching letters by any of the following Ships bound for Calcutta; THE LOTUS, Docton, to sail about the 10th Feb.; THE ADRIAN, Short, 6th February; DOROTHY, Hargrave 26th February; the ASIA, Lindsay, February 10th; the BENGAL MERCHANT, Brown, 14th February; and the NANCY, Thomson which sailed from Deal 26th January.—Hutchins.

Military Order of the Bath.

To the Editor of John Bull.

To the Author of the Letter in the Calcutta Journal upon the Companionship of the Bath, being considered as an order of merit.

SIR,

If you will take the trouble to turn to the LONDON GAZETTES, which contain Lists of those Officers, who have received the distinction of the Bath, you will find that there is no instance of its having been conferred on any Officer under the rank of Major.

This rule I understand, was laid down at the time, when the first List was published: nor has it in any case been violated.

It is the opinion indeed of a very high and distinguished member of the Administration at home, that it ought not to stand in the way of a Captain who might have the good fortune greatly and signally to distinguish himself in action, in a separate command; but it is very doubtful that even in such an instance, other authorities would have concurred with the then President of the Board of Control, to whom I allude, in allowing an exception to be made to a rule which was considered as general.

From the above it may be inferred that the merits of Captains Fitzgerald and Staunton were not overlooked, by those persons to whom it more particularly belonged to select proper objects for the Companionship of the Bath.—Indeed I know that exertions were made and considerable regret expressed in a high quarter, that the distinction could not be conferred, on those Officers; but as nobody doubts their claims to the honors in question, I am convinced that the consciousness of superior merit will amply console those heroes, Fitzgerald and Staunton, for the loss of a distinction which is only postponed till some future glorious opportunity occurs of their again signalizing their courage, skill, valor, and intrepidity, in the service of their country.

I am, Sir, Your faithful Servant,

Chowringhee, 24th June, 1822.

MEDAL.

Shipping Arrivals.**CALCUTTA.**

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	From Whence	Left
June 26	Isabella Robertson	British	G. G. Michell	Chilie	Feb. 20
26	Hero of Malowa	British	J. Neish	Batavia	Mar. 28
26	Henry	French	Savignac	Bordeaux	Feb. 12
26	Bark George	British	J. Poulson	Masulipatam	Jun. 14

Extracts from the Report of the Ship HERO OF MALOWA, Captain Neish, from Batavia, Bencoolen, and Padang:—The ship INDIAN TRADER was totally lost on the night of the 14th of May on Trumoon beach, having upset in a squall and drove on shore, with a full Cargo of Pepper, 6000 Peculs, shipped by the Bencoolen Government on account of the Honorable Company; all hands saved, but one sick Lascar.

On the 11th instant about 3° East of Acheen head, spoke the ship LOWZER FAMILY from Bombay, for China. Ever since we have had very bad weather, winds from all points of the compass, with very severe squalls.

Passengers per HERO OF MALOWA, from Batavia.—Mrs. Boulton, Mrs. Neish and Children, Mr. J. Von Coningham; Captain Ford, Mr. W. Walker, 1st Officer, Mr. W. Sandrie, and Master Sandrie, from the wreck of the INDIAN TRADER.

Passengers per ISABELLA ROBERTSON, Captain Gilbert G. Mitchell, direct from Chili on the 20th of February.—Mrs. Mitchell and two Children, Mr. John Seivell and Don Diego Carballo, Merchants.

On the 8th of May, the ISABELLA ROBERTSON spoke the Schooner COURIER, Captain Lautier, in longitude 93° 58' and latitude 5° 13' S. and on the 15th of May, she spoke the Ship THURTS, Captain Davies, in latitude 0° 40' N. longitude 91° East—all well.

Passengers per BARK GEORGE, Captain J. Poulson.—Mr. Phillip Gardener, 2d Officer, and Mr. Thomas Guillaums, 3d Officer, late of the Ship —, name not mentioned from Galle.

Passengers per French Ship HENRY, Captain J. Savignac, from Bordeaux.—Madm. Julie Cocha, Victorine Cocha, Simon Vigeeux, Brostrom Charles Middleton, Charles Burch.